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Louisiana Afl-Cio Union Members' Opinions Regarding Participation, Satisfaction and Leadership.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

This study attempted to assess the Louisiana AFL-CIO Union members' opinions regarding participation, satisfaction, and leadership both in their unions and on their jobs. Five hundred randomly selected Louisiana AFL-CIO union members were sent a Union Member Opinion Questionnaire (UMOQ), a cover letter explaining the research, a supportive letter from the President of the Louisiana AFL-CIO, and a stamped self-addressed envelope to the researcher. Questionnaires were returned by 36 percent of the sample, but only 25 percent of the sample was useable. Reasons for this low response rate were discussed, as was the resultant lack of generalizability of the results.

Several hypotheses regarding participation, satisfaction, and leadership were studied. Union members were differentiated into Active and Inactive members based on their participation scores. Participation was assessed by such items as frequency of attendance at meetings, voting, reading the union newspaper, attending social or educational events, using the grievance procedure, taking part in a strike, being a committee member or chairperson, and running for or being elected to a union office. The results indicated, as hypothesized, that the majority of the union members were inactive with respect to organizational matters. The results also indicated that there were no demographic characteristics that differentiated Active from Inactive members. However, the results indicated that union members of small locals were significantly more active than those who belonged to large locals.

Furthermore, the results, as hypothesized, indicated that the union members were generally satisfied with their union and their job. However, the only union satisfaction item which significantly differentiated Actives from Inactives was satisfaction with the job the union does on city, state, and national politics. The Inactives were satisfied with the job done on politics, while the Actives were neutral. The only job satisfaction item which significantly differentiated the Actives from the Inactives was satisfaction with pay. The Inactives were satisfied with their pay, while the Actives were neutral. This study's look at leadership indicated that, contrary to expectation, the union members perceived their leaders both in their unions and on their jobs to be more Theory Y, employee-centered leaders than Theory X, task-oriented leaders.

This study also looked at the Right-to-Work issue currently a topic in Louisiana politics. Although the members felt they had to join the union as a condition of employment, 95 percent were willing to do so. The members also indicated that they felt that most union members today would prefer to be represented by a union and that management and union should be free to negotiate a clause requiring all members (workers) to join an union.

In an attempt to help the union leaders increase their members' involvement in their union, this research took a closer look at participation. The members' opinions regarding ways to increase participation included such items as increasing information, recognition, educational events and social events. Their suggestions may provide valuable information to union leaders about changes that might help increase participation.

The importance of continual assessment by union leaders of their members' needs and opinions through such means as the UMOQ was discussed. In so listening to the members' opinions, union leadership could increase their members' satisfaction with their union and its leadership, and then, perhaps, their participation would also increase.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Labor unions are controversial. Historically, the advent of labor unions disturbed important social, economic, and power relations. To some observers this all meant progress; to others, doom. The diversity of form and practice among the unions did not simplify the controversy. There were craft unions and industrial unions, small unions and large unions, autocratic unions and democratic unions. This variance and the confusion inherent in it was well stated near the turn of the century:

> Unionism is in essence one of the most complex, diffuse, and protean of modern social phenomena. There is not one local union but probably 30,000; there is not one national union but about 130, each with its own problems to solve and its own aims, policies, attitudes, and methods.
>
> What is true of one union or group may not be true at all of another. No judgments may be rendered nor generalizations made in regard to unionism as such from the study of any one union or any small number of unions. And, moreover, in the realm of unionism everything is in a state of flux, of constant change and development. Positive conclusions are therefore almost impossible to secure and tentative generalizations can be made only as the result of the most broad and painstaking examination of the facts and an ability to get beneath appearances to discount deliberately false and prejudiced statements (Hoxie, 1923, pp. 1-2).

Although many years have passed since Hoxie's statement, the problems he describes have not been simplified. Labor unions are still in a state of flux and their growth continues to be sporadic. As 1978 began, there were 98 million men and women in the United States work force. Just under 20 million of them were dues-paying members of a union (Labor on the Defensive, 1978).

Labor unions have become an important institution in the United States and they have done much to improve the quality of life of the American worker. Unions and union leadership have become professionalized and in many cases provide the only means through which the less skilled can have a voice in the employment situation they face (Laughan, 1972). Labor unions are one force that brings democracy into industrialized America and keeps workers from being totally powerless from nine to five (Levison, 1974). Even though unions have made significant gains for their members, historically the tendency has been to exaggerate the power and potentiality of the labor movement. Unionism, in its inception, was a protest movement and its purpose was to provide workers with a social vehicle by which to achieve a greater power equalization with the employer. This power equalization increases the probability of the worker achieving a more equitable, satisfying work relationship with the employer in the pursuit of his economic livelihood (Rosen, 1976). Thus, workers exercise some control in their plants and organizations through unions and these unions act to constrain some managers in their pursuit of efficiency and profit without regard for the interests of their employees (Tannenbaum, Kovcic, Rosner, Vianello, and Wieser, 1974).

One major concern of organized labor is its role in industry. An important function of unions in industry is the advancement of the well-being and the aims of employee membership (Tribb, 1950). In carrying out this function unions may serve as a stabilizing device in industry, as a communication mechanism within the plant, and as a reflection of the psychological drives of industrial workers.

This present study hopes to take a look inside labor unions to assess the members attitudes regarding their organization. Union members will be given an opportunity to give their opinions about such issues as participation, satisfaction, and leadership. These topics are not new in the study of unions but they have not received much research interest since the 1950's. There are three main reasons why unions deserve renewed research interest. First, new social science theories and methodologies may provide insights and challenges to the older research. Second, substantial changes in the labor movement have occurred. Third, social science research may provide assistance in resolving problems affecting both unions and the societies in which they operate, such as member involvement (Strauss & Warner, 1977). The goal of the present study is to contribute further to an understanding of unions by closing some of the gaps in knowledge that still exist in several of these union research areas. The specific gaps will be described later.

Previous studies of labor unions have usually concentrated on locals within one particular union and this methodology has not enhanced the possibility of generalizing results. Since this present research will be done on a state-wide basis, the ability to generalize its findings will be heightened. The present research will provide union leaders, company management, organizational psychologists, and others who study unions, with indications of what can be done to increase the participation and satisfaction of union members. This information, if applied, will enable union leaders to represent more fully their members' needs and desires.

A brief review of the history of unions, the internal processes of unions, a profile of union leaders and members, and the structure and administration of unions follows. It is hoped that this introduction will help the reader understand the complexity that characterizes unionism today.

The History of Labor Unions

The following summary of the historical framework of the development of labor unions was comprised predominantely from the works of Miernyk (1962), Herling (1964), and Blum (1972). This background information helps provide an understanding of the philosophy, attitudes, and expectations of present labor union members.

The first trade unions in this country were formed in the 1870's. These were local organizations of skilled craftsmen, mostly shoemakers, carpenters, and painters. They established wage scales to be presented to employers but did not engage in collective bargaining. Their principle weapon was the strike. Unions were regarded as conspiracies during this phase of their history and none of the early unions achieved sufficient strength to withstand the shock of economic recessions. It was not until after the Civil War that labor organizations in the United States began to grow beyond their immediate localities. Yet even in the first six decades of the nineteenth century, unions had already tried out some of the same techniques and tactics they use today, such as the strike and the boycott. During this time they made gains and suffered reverses, were sometimes wiped out by depression, then revived in an economic upsurge.

An important development of the labor movement began in the early 1870's. This was the founding of the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor. The Knights consisted of a national organization or general assembly which exercised control over numerous district assemblies, each of which was composed of five or more local assemblies. The local assemblies were of two kinds: trade, including members of only one craft; and mixed, admitting a wide range of occupations. The Knights excluded only lawyers, bankers, gamblers, and stockholders. Local assemblies of the Knights began to spread all over the country but organizational weaknesses were developing. Individual assemblies were making their own decisions, resulting in a serious lack of coordination. This was expressed as early as 1881 when a group of craft union leaders established the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. This Federation grew slowly until 1886 while the growth of the Knights was rapid. However, in that year, the two philosophies of the organizations came into head-on conflict. A number of issues were involved, including the craft unions' demands for an eight-hour day, which the Knights opposed. The fundamental issue was jurisdiction. The trade unionists wanted to organize the skilled workers into fairly narrow craft unions each of which would have a high degree of autonomy. The Knights continued to pursue their objective of a single centralized organization of all wage earners (Miernyk, 1962).

When the Knights' convention of 1886 refused to respect the jurisdiction of the large craft unions, several of these met at Columbus, Ohio and founded the American Federation of Labor. This Federation of craft unions was based upon two principles, exclusive

jurisdiction and autonomy. These principles were to guide the American labor movement for the next half century. For every group of craftsmen or tradesmen there was to be a single national or international union, each free to guide its own internal affairs (Blum, 1972).

The prestige of national unions declined during the 1920's. This decline has been attributed to inadequate leadership, division within the ranks, public reaction to some of the abuses committed during World War I, and improved personnel management in companies. Consequently, employees turned from national unions to a system of employee representation plans that were company sponsored (Megginson, 1972). By 1929 union membership in the United States had fallen to about 3.4 million workers, a drop of 1.5 million from 1920. Union members in 1929 accounted for only seven percent of the labor force compared with twelve percent ten years earlier. The decline continued during the early years of the depression, but this was no longer because workers rejected unions. It was due to the spread of unemployment.

In 1932, a law was enacted which marked a significant gain for labor as well as a change in Congressional attitudes. The Norris-LaGuardia Act stated that workers possessed the right of self-organization. From then on the individual worker was to have "full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of his own choosing to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment . . ." He was to be "free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other

mutual aid or protection" (Herling, 1964, pp. 24-25). To solidify the gains of labor under this act, the Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act, commonly called the Wagner Act, in 1935. The Wagner Act created a legal charter of unions' rights and it created administrative machinery to implement these rights through the National Labor Relations Board. This board has brought about a fairly coherent system of labor-management relations. It conducts union representation elections and establishes the "ground rules" for labor-management relations. The NLRB does not take part in the actual bargaining process, although complaints may be filed with the Board which will then determine whether the party in question is guilty of "unfair practice". The Board's decision thus affects the procedure, and indirectly the substance of bargaining. An immediate effect of the Wagner Act was to encourage workers to join unions and to organize unions in areas where they did not exist. After this assurance of government support, union leaders could overcome long-entrenched employer resistance (Herling, 1964).

Following the passage of the Wagner Act there came the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which sets standards of minimum wages and maximum hours and then the Social Security Act of 1935, which created a nation-wide system of old-age, survivors, and disability insurance, benefiting all workers, not only those in unions. Through such legislative acts, together with wage increases won through collective bargaining, the purchasing power of the workers was being raised. Recent instances of social legislation supported by labor are Medicare, passed in 1965; Manpower Development and Training Act, first passed in 1962; and Equal Opportunity Act, passed in 1964.

In the 1930's, the belief in craft unionism which had dominated the American Federation of Labor was challenged by the concept of industrial unionism. This struggle over whether to organize new workers on an industrial or craft basis was an old one for the AFL, but it now became more pronounced. Craft unionism had emphasized organizing a horizontal slice of the labor movement according to skill. Industrial unionism favored organizing all workers no matter what their skills or lack of skills. When a craft local union negotiated, it negotiated for only a small segment of the workers in a company, for example, the electricians. When an industrial union negotiated, it negotiated for all production workers in the firm, including the electricians.

Although on the surface the dispute within the AFL seemed to center on how to organize, there were other issues. One was a conflict between the progressive and conservative forces in the labor movement, between those who wanted labor to become involved in politics in order to promote a welfare state and those who wanted labor to be involved mainly in collective bargaining with only minimal attention to politics. Whatever the cause, a new federation of labor, the CIO, came into existence in 1935. It was first called the Committee for Industrial Organization but its name was changed to the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1938 when the split with the AFL became final. The chief difference between the two organizations was in the attitude toward organizing workers. The CIO was committed to organizing all workers. After a slow start the AFL also came around to this point of view and eventually outstripped the CIO in membership in part by organizing along industrial lines. Overall, union membership figures

steadily increased during the years after the birth of the CIO until the 1950's from approximately three million in 1933 to fifteen million in 1947 (Blum, 1972).

The end of World War II brought with it a reaction against unionism. The conservative 80th Congress debated a variety of proposals for curbing union power and out of these debates came the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, better known as the Taft-Hartley Act. This act retained the basic provisions of the Wagner Act, notably the one requiring employers to bargain collectively with freely chosen representatives of their workers. But it set up unfair labor practices for unions as a counterpart to the Wagner Act's unfair labor practices for management. It outlawed the closed shop which had specified that employees had to be union members before they could be hired. In addition, it regulated the use of union funds for political activity, prohibited strikes by government employees, established the anti-communist affidavit, and made it possible for individual states to outlaw the union shop. A number of states where unions had met a hostile reception, particularly in the South, took advantage of this provision and enacted so-called 'right-to-work' laws (Miernyk, 1962).

Not long after the Taft-Hartley Law was passed, the CIO had to confront a problem with the infiltration and domination of Communists into eleven of its thirty-five national affiliates. During the years 1949 and 1950 these unions were expelled from the CIO after a series of union trials. The explusion of these Communist-dominated unions from the CIO was a major step toward the eventual unification of the American labor movement. In 1955, after a series of conferences, an

"Agreement for a Merger" was adopted by a joint committee of AFL-CIO leaders and ratified by the executive groups of the two federations. A new constitution was written and approved, and a new name was chosen to combine the official titles of both the AFL and the CIO. Generally the policy and administrative structure of the new organization, the AFL-CIO, was similar to that of the separate bodies: policy would be formulated at conventions of delegates representing the affiliated unions; these conventions would be held every two years, instead of annually. Between conventions, the Executive Council would act as the governing body, meeting at least three times a year.

In the constitution, the AFL-CIO stated that all workers, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin, were to share equally in union benefits. A Committee on Ethical Practices was established to assist the Executive Council in keeping the AFL-CIO free of corruption, and was empowered to recommend suspension or explusion of any union controlled by undesirable persons. In fact, at the 1957 convention, the federation expelled from its ranks the Teamsters, Bankers, and Laundry Workers Unions for failing to correct serious abuses. The leaderships of these unions were managing their affairs in ways that were found in violation of the AFL-CIO Codes of Ethical Practice established to guide union members in the conduct of their activities. The codes cover the character of local union charters, the administration of health, welfare, and pension funds, racketeering, infiltration of Communists and Fascists, conflicts of interests, financial practices of unions, and union democratic processes (Herling, 1964).

After peaking in 1956 at 17.5 million, membership began a downtrend that was not reversed until the mid-1960's. The cause of this decline was the result of a drop in employment due to technological changes in some of the more highly organized mass-production industries and in segments of transportation and mining (Miernyk, 1962). Union membership increased each year between 1964 and 1974. Yet, despite the fact that the economy generated six million new jobs between 1974 and 1977, there are five hundred thousand fewer United States union members today than four years ago. Union labor now represents a smaller proportion of the total work force, just 20 percent, than at any time since World War II (Labor on the Defensive, 1978). Unions experiencing substantial increases were those with membership in government, service, trade and trucking. Unions with members in railroads, textiles, shoes and furniture industries experienced substantial declines in membership which indicates the shifts that have occurred within the economy over the past two decades. It is extremely difficult to assess the many factors that contribute to a union's gain or loss of membership. Increases in individual unions may be attributed to the merger of organizations, successful organizing campaigns, and increased employment in plants covered by union shop agreements. Changing employment patterns, such as a shift from blue-collar to white-collar occupations, can cause a loss in membership (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1974). Growth in the future will depend on how successfully unions organize in the expanding sectors of the economy. They must also compete with the employee associations for the right to represent public sector workers, blacks, women, and college and university faculty members.

Internal Processes of Unions

In addition to a review of the history of labor unions, an elaboration of the internal processes of unions contribute to an understanding of labor unions. These processes include the goals and purposes of unions, a profile of union members and leaders, and the structure and administration of labor unions.

Goals and Purposes of Unions

Although there are no simple and definitive answers to why workers join unions, being a part of a union allows workers to have a voice in affairs that affect them. This satisfies their desire for democracy, for a voice in their own fate, and for self-determination. Workers may be motivated to join unions because they want to be able to communicate their frustrations, aims, feelings, and ideas to their superiors. They may also join unions because they seek an outlet for leadership when advancement in the company is blocked (Megginson, 1972).

The primary goal of unions is the economic interests of its members. This broad goal of economic welfare can be seen in terms of a number of specific benefits for members, including higher wages, shorter work hours, improved working conditions, greater job security through senority rights, and protection from dismissal. At times and in varying degrees, unions have also manifested an interest in health benefits, sick leave, vacations, and better housing. Unions also seek to enhance economic and social benefits of workers through affecting governmental action. Unions have been concerned with workmen's compensation, medical care, social security, old-age legislation, reduction of unemployment, and increasing unemployment insurance.

Unions are also said to provide psychological benefits to workers which are sometimes acknowledged as objectives. Included here are "(a) dignity, status, self-respect, psychological security, satisfaction through participation; (b) outlet for the frustration of industrial employment; and (c) use of skills and abilities not required or negated on the job" (Tannenbaum and Kahn, 1958, p. 5).

Unions also become important to some members because they become 'involved', committed to, or dependent upon the union as a social structure. The union must be administered: it must have a structure of roles, a pattern of interaction, a system of statuses and authority, and internal rewards and sanctions. "Whether or not it is formed initially to serve these ends, it gives a feeling of belongingness, a status, and a hierarchy of statuses" (Sherif, 1948, pp. 100-101).

As an organization, the union strives to survive and there are several measures designed to insure "union security". These include "maintenance of membership clause" which prohibits employees from leaving the union once they have joined; the "closed shop" which requires a prospective employee to be a member before he can be hired (now outlawed by the Taft-Hartley law); the "union shop", which requires all eligible employees to join the union once it is recognized as the bargaining agent; and the "checkoff" through which management deducts from employees' pay checks the amount equivalent to union dues and remits these directly to the union. These measures enhance the survival and the integrity of the union as an organization (Tannenbaum, 1965).

In retrospect, as the workers see it, the labor union has value because it brings them "holiday pay; clothes-changing time . . . vacation pay; improved working conditions; wage raises and back pay. Workers talk of 'not being pushed around', 'being able to go over the boss's head' . . . and 'protection for our people (black)'" (Purcell, 1953, p. 150). These are the goals, images, and ideals which rank-and-file workers have for their unions. It is in terms of these basic conceptions that the American labor union has been built.

A Profile of the Union Member

Union members do not represent a mirror image of the entire adult population, or even the work force, of this country. Instead, union members are heavily concentrated in certain income ranges, educational levels, industries, occupations, and geographical regions (Bok and Dunlop, 1970).

Income. Unionists fall mainly in the middle income group, with relatively few members among the very rich or the very poor. Median earnings of union year-round, full-time workers exceeded those of comparable nonunion workers by an average of $1,157 in 1970 ($8,609 to $7,452). Nonunion workers tended to cluster more at the extremes of the earning scale than union members. Twenty-five percent of nonunion workers earned less than $5,000 compared with eleven percent of union members. At the top of the scale, eleven percent of nonunion workers earned at least $15,000, compared with five percent of union members. The greater proportion of nonunion workers at the lower end of the earnings range is explained partially by occupational differences between union and nonunion workers. Relatively more nonunion workers

were employed in traditionally low-paying clerical, service, and farm occupations than were union workers, 31 percent compared with 21 percent. A second factor was the industrial distribution of nonunion operatives, 40 percent of whom earned less than $5,000 in 1970. They were more likely than union operatives to be employed in the apparel, food, and textile industries, which characteristically have low pay scales. At the upper end of the earnings scale were the 35 percent of nonunion workers engaged in the relatively high-paying managerial and professional occupations. Only 11 percent of union workers were employed in these occupations (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1972).

Education. In 1965, 44 percent of all union heads of households had an education that extended through all or part of high school, but not beyond. Only 32 percent of nonunion household heads fell within this category. A college diploma has been received by 1.4 percent of all union family heads and 11.4 percent of nonunion family heads. Only .4 percent of union heads of household had received an advanced degree compared with 7.8 percent of nonunion heads (Bok and Dunlop, 1970).

Sex. Women workers are underrepresented in labor unions. Although the proportion of women in the labor force has continued to increase steadily, the percent organized by unions fell to 11.9 percent, its lowest recorded level since the Bureau began collecting data on women in 1952. The labor force ratio for male members remained stable at approximately 30 percent (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1977).

Salary comparisons between men and women reveal that, whether in unions or not, men earned more than women. In 1970, the last year such statistics were available, the earnings gap between men and women

was narrower among union members who are white-collar or service workers, but wider among union members who are blue-collar workers. For example, among white-collar workers in 1970, nonunion men earned 180 percent more than nonunion women; union men earned 80 percent more than union women. Among blue-collar workers, income disparities between men and women were higher for union members than for non-members. In 1970, among nonunion blue-collar workers, men earned 90 percent more than women; among union members, men earned 100 percent more (Raphael, 1974).

Industry and Occupation. Historically, labor union membership has been most highly concentrated among blue-collar workers. Fifty-six percent of all blue-collar wokers were members of unions, while only 13 percent of all white-collar employees are unionized (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1977). White-collar members now represent 24.3 percent of total union membership as compared to 12.2 percent in 1958. The public sector percentage of overall union membership is 20.6 percent, while 34 percent of all state and local employees are represented by collective bargaining organizations (Kistler, 1977).

Geography. Union membership is not distributed throughout the United States in proportion to population or employment. In general terms, the extent of union organization is greatest in the North Central states and least in the South (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1972). The five states with the largest employment--New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio-contain 45 percent of the union members while employing 38 percent of the non-agricultural work force. These five states have 8.7 million union members (Bok and Dunlop, 1970).

Attitudes. The attitudes of union employees on social, political, and economic questions are also relevant to the understanding of the labor union movement. Whether the issue is Viet Nam, civil rights, aid to education, or the poverty program, the opinions of union members come within a few percentage points of those held by the public at large. The same is true of questions touching on attitudes toward society and government. Union members as a group do not exhibit any special desire for drastic social and economic change. They reject, by about the same margin as the general public, such proposals as a multibillion-dollar program for the cities. They were much more anxious that the government finance the war in Viet Nam and combat crime in the streets than that it maintain welfare programs and campaigns against poverty. Yet, union members are not more conservative about these matters than the rest of the population. Union members tend to stand two or three percentage points to the liberal side on matters of race, the United Nations, and the poverty program. These tendencies also seem to be durable; there has been no apparent shift to the right over the past two or three decades. For example, on racial matters the attitudes of union members have grown more tolerant, not less (Bok and Dunlop, 1970).

The Union Leader

Almost all labor leaders have come up from the ranks of the members working in the plants and crafts that unions represent. The union leader thus tends to reflect many of the characteristics of his/her membership. For example, 83 percent of the union presidents and secretary-treasurers are Democrats, just as almost all unions have

a majority of Democrats among their membership. The average age of the national officer of a union is about 53, about the same as for the business executives at the vice-president and president level. The proportion of college graduates among union leaders is higher than among union members but lags behind the level achieved by businessmen and government officials (Bok and Dunlop, 1970).

Nearly all local unions have shop stewards who serve as union representatives in the plant. These elected officials work full time at their jobs but, in addition, they collect dues, handle grievances with management foremen, and generally look after union affairs in the shop. Their relations with foremen often determine the type of industrial relations which exist in the plant, for whatever the union-management relationship at the top level may be, stewards and foremen are the persons who must carry it out on the shop level in daily contacts with the union members.

The typical union officer begins his career by rising from the ranks to win an office in his local. He may subsequently rise to become an officer or staff member of the district council in his area or the state council, or he may move directly to a position as international representative attached to a regional office. An international representative may continue in this position until retirement, but it's possible that he will be tapped to become a regional manager or to fill an opening at the headquarters. Further up in the hierarchy are the vice-presidents who may be elected from among the regional directors, the state leaders, or the leaders of the larger locals. Above the vice-presidents are the president and the secretary-treasurer. In theory, any union member may be elected to these positions; in

practice, such openings are usually filled by elevating one of the vice-presidents (Bok and Dunlop, 1970).

The Administration of the Labor Movement

The structure or organizational administration of the union consists of three major sections or levels: the federation, the national or international union, and the local union. Each level has its own distinctive and special functions.

The Federation. At the center of the labor movement is a single major federation, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). The AFL-CIO is a voluntary association and is composed of free and autonomous labor unions. Membership in the federation is confined to national or international unions; thus the AFL-CIO is a union of unions, not of individuals. Yet, the control of the 130 national unions affiliated with it is not centralized in the AFL-CIO, for a national union does not surrender its independence or sovereignty when it joins the federation. The federation exists at the wish of the national and international unions, rather than the other way around. The Federation has neither the formal authority nor the effective power to dictate the behavior of its constituent unions. In addition, the AFL-CIO is not directly involved in the fundamental union function of collective bargaining. This function is reserved for the national unions and, to a lesser extent, the local unions (Estey, 1967).

The primary role of the Federation may be described broadly as political. The AFL-CIO is to organized labor roughly what the United States Chamber of Commerce is to business; it is engaged in lobbying,

public relations, research, and education to present labors' views on countless problems--not only on wages, hours, and working conditions, but also on topics ranging from public housing to foreign policy. In addition, the Federation performs various functions within the labor movement. It charters new international unions, tries to minimize friction between affiliated unions and settle disputes which occasionally break out between them, maintains a staff of organizers, and provides research and legal assistance for unions too small to afford their own research staffs. More than a hundred staff members serve in Washington in departments and committees charged with such issues as legislation, political education (COPE), civil rights, social security, community service, international affairs, research, education, and urban problems. These departments have no authority to dictate to the member unions, but they do make use of a variety of techniques to exert an influence on them (Estey, 1967).

National and International Unions. After the Federation come the 188 national and international unions which provide the basic framework of the American labor movement. National unions are those unions having collective-bargaining agreements with different employers in more than one state and an international union is an American union which has members in Canada.

The national unions are the chief executives of the economic functions of unions, collective bargaining. Since the American labor movement is distinctive for its emphasis on economic activities, the national union has emerged as the dominant force in the labor movement. Each national or international union has its exclusive jurisdiction, or territory, spelled out in the charter issued to them by the AFL-CIO,

in which it claims the right to organize workers and control jobs. No union is to compete for the workers in the jurisdiction of another, although, as the frequency of jurisdictional disputes indicates, they often do. Many unions have, on their own initiative, amended and modified the definition of their jurisdiction as the industries or occupations in which they operate have changed or as their own objectives have widened. In the terminology of the labor movement, the national unions are autonomous organizations, essentially free agents, setting their own policies, making their own decisions, and retaining full control over their own affairs. It is the officials of the national unions who decide whether to strike and what demands to make in negotiations, not the officers of the AFL-CIO (Estey, 1967).

National and international unions can be classified according to the nature of their jurisdiction, as either a craft or an industrial union. Craft unions are those whose jurisdiction concerns a particular skilled occupation or occupations. Among the traditional craft unions are the Carpenters, the Plumbers, the Bricklayers, and the Painters. Membership in such unions is a function of being employed in a particular occupation, irrespective of industry. Industrial unions define their jurisdiction in terms of employment in an industry, regardless of skill or occupation. The best known examples of industrial unions are the Auto Workers and the Steelworkers.

Local Unions. The third level in the union structure is the local union. Local unions are branches of national or international unions, although a few are affiliated directly with the AFL-CIO or are completely independent. There are approximately seventy four thousand local unions, with memberships ranging from forty thousand to seven or

eight members. The relationships between a national union and its locals are much closer than the relationships between the national union and the Federation. The autonomy does not exist for the locals. Local unions are chartered by the national union and may be disbanded, suspended, or put under administrative supervision (trusteeship) by the national union. Many union constitutions require local unions to obtain permission from the national union before calling a strike. Representatives from the national union office may be sent to assist local unions in collective-bargaining negotiations or in handling grievances. Local unions thus lack the unrestricted decision-making authority of the national unions. The scope of local unions varies according to the size and nature of the community in which they operate. Like their parent national unions, local unions may be broadly classified as craft or industrial unions.

Although it has yielded much of its collective-bargaining power to the national, the local union has not reduced its level of importance. The local union is 'where the boys are', it reaches the worker 'where he lives'. The local union is the individual member's point of direct contact with his union; the performance of the local is the basis on which he judges not only his local but, perhaps, his national union and the labor movement as a whole (Estey, 1967). In short, the local union is the union to the member. Its performance is the basis for his opinions of unions (Bok and Dunlop, 1970).

The primary function of the local union is the grievance procedure--the process by which collective bargaining agreements are administered and interpreted. It is the local union officer who is responsible for winning or losing the grievance for the worker, for he

gets the individual member's complaints about how the member is treated in the plant. If the grievance is settled in favor of the worker, the local, and by association, the national union generally looks good to him. If the grievance is lost, unionism suffers (Sayles and Strauss, 1953).

Interunion Relationships--the State and Local Federation. The Federation has branches, or subordinate units, at both the state and local level. State branches are known as state federations or councils, local branches are called city central labor unions. The function of both state and city federations closely parallels that of the AFL-CIO. Their primary concerns are state and municipal legislation, political action, and community relations; in short, lobbying and public relations.

Like the main Federation, state and city central organizations are organizations of unions, not individual. Local unions whose parent national unions are affiliated with the AFL-CIO are eligible for membership in their respective state or city federations, but membership is neither compulsory nor automatic (Estey, 1967). Louisiana belongs to the state federation and Baton Rouge belongs to the city central labor council. Mr. Victor Bussie is presently serving as president of the Louisiana AFL-CIO; Mr. John Bourg serves as president of the Baton Rouge Central Trades and Labor Council.

Given this background information on the history, goals, and structure of the labor unions, as well as a profile of its leaders and members, the focus of attention will shift to the particular areas of concern in this study; that is, union participation, job and union satisfaction, and job and union leadership.

Union Participation

The majority of studies of union organizations have revealed that most members are inactive with respect to organizational matters (Form and Dansereau, 1957; Spinard, 1960; Hagburg, 1966; and Wertheimer and Nelson, 1975). That is, many union members do not vote in elections, attend meetings, run for office, serve on committees, or even keep themselves informed about organizational policy or activity. Some exceptions do exist but inactivity among union members is by far the prevalent rule within contemporary unions. Yet, most studies demonstrate that the overwhelming majority of union members support their unions, regardless of whether the study is a survey of attitudes, a government-sponsored strike poll, or a union shop authorization referendum (Barbash, 1961).

Biographical information appears from a review of the literature to be relevant to the understanding of union participation. These items include age, sex, marital status, race, religion, and education. The active union member has been found to be older, more likely married, and more likely male than female. The active member also tends to be higher than the inactive in pay, skill, senority, and job status, in general (Tannenbaum and Kahn, 1958).

The size of the local also seems to affect the activity level of members. Small unions tend to have relatively high rates of membership attendance at meetings. This was explained in terms of the higher rates of interaction and influence among members in the smaller local unions. As the size of the union grows apparently the atmosphere for individual participation diminishes (Mahoney, 1952; Strauss and Sayles, 1953).

Union activists also seem to be disproportionately drawn from specific ethnic groups-Blacks and Mexicans, and also from specific religious-Catholic and Jewish. Minority ethnic status indicates some form of personal, economic, and social discrimination, or some fears of such discrimination. Thus these groups have been particularly responsive to the unions emphasis on collective efforts for improvement and this is frequently reflected in the greater degree of participation than that found among work colleagues from dominant ethnic groups (Purcell, 1960).

Data on rank-and-file members thus indicate that strong involvement in their union is rare. A minority of members show emotional identification with the union's organizational goals, although the economic function of unions is strongly accepted (Sayles and Strauss, 1953). In a study of six local unions in Columbus, Ohio, the feelings of most workers were characterized as disinterested allegiance (Miller and Young, 1955). A number of possible reasons for this apparent apathy of union members toward internal union activities have been offered. These include the fact that workers feel they have little control over their unions and that members are resisting oppressive control by their union (Schneider, 1957).

The data also suggest that union members are selective in their participation and do not support all union activities. In a study with machinists, it was found that they could be divided into four groups: the "Pickers and Choosers" who selectively decide on their area of satisfaction and dissatisfaction and do not generalize from one issue to all others; the "Patriots" who seem to be satisfied with almost anything the union does; the "Gripers" who answer 'dissatisfied' to all

questions about union activities; and the "Fence-sitters" who are undecided (Rosen and Rosen, 1955). Employees in a United Auto Workers local could be classified according to their orientation toward union functions and their participation reflected these orientations. Members with "social orientations" who view their union as fraternal and social have the highest rates of participation; those with "economic" orientations are second. Members with "political" orientations see the union as a device to protect them from arbitrary management rules and those with either "hostile" or "apathetic" orientations disregard the union and participate the least (Form and Dansereau, 1957).

Yet, this lack of participation may not be as discouraging as it sounds. There is general agreement by union members that attendance at union meetings is important. The union member is aware of the poor attendance which he deplores, but he does not see this as a deficit in the overall democratic process. Most rank-and-filers regard their union as being democratic in the sense that they have the last word (Barbash, 1961). The union members want specific things out of their unions rather than abstract, routine democratic control. If they have a say in the critical issues that affect them-strikes, ratification of contracts, participation in the grievance procedure-they feel that they have enough control and participation to suit them (Tannenbaum, 1956). Evan if they are not strongly or totally involved in the union, the members do have a deep-rooted perception of its protective function. Yet, they do not want to be actively involved in running the union and most would not accept positions of responsibility even if they were offered (Miller and Young, 1955).

In spite of the conclusions from the previous studies, the relative lack of participation still worries the union leaders. In anticipation of helping to increase participation in union affairs, the present study attempts to ascertain the level of participation in Louisiana AFL-CIO unions and also contribute to other union studies by filling in some of the gaps in the previous research. This is done by asking the members what the union could do to make it easier for them to participate. Participation in union affairs might be hampered by the time or place of meetings, program formats, the need for babysitters, lack of encouragement or recognition from the union officers, lack of enough information on union activities, or even the member's job. It is hoped that if labor leaders and organizational psychologists were more aware of reasons why unionists do not participate, they might take appropriate measures which could increase the overall level of activity within the unions.

Worker participation in local union activity is flexible. It is affected by union contests with the company in contract negotiations or strikes, by fractional struggles within the union itself, especially elections; and many other influences (Purcell, 1960). One such influence currently in focus in Louisiana is the right-to-work controversy. During the summer of 1976, the Louisiana legislature voted in favor of a statutory law for right-to-work despite the objections of both leaders and members.

A right-to-work law outlaws union shops, which are agreements between employers and labor organizations that all non-management employees must join a union as a condition of employment. Right-to-work became law in Louisiana briefly during the 1950's and the fight

against it was the main issue that jelled the power of the state AFL-CIO. This power had remained unchallenged until the formation of a unified business lobby, Louisiana Alliance of Business and Industry (LABI) in 1976. The current issue of right-to-work was so heated that it evoked the participation of union members from throughout the state. It is issues such as this that raises the level of union activity and even spurs the inactive members (Purcell, 1960). Since the right-to-work issue did initiate so much activity and excitement in Louisiana, questions concerning this topic are included in this study.

Job Satisfaction

In view of the large number of psychological studies in which measures of job satisfaction have played an important role, it is surprising to find that little attention has been devoted to job satisfaction's relationship to labor union involvement. This topic was not even dealt with in the latest review of job satisfaction (Locke, 1976). For this reason and because job satisfaction has been shown to contribute to union participation and satisfaction (Barbash, 1961; Purcell, 1960), it will be looked at in this study.

Studies of several industrial locals provide evidence for the observation that union participation tends to increase with the increase of job satisfaction. Three such studies, using observations of nine different unions affirm that active union members usually like their jobs more than do non-active members (Dean, 1954; Form and Dansereau, 1957; Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, 1958).

Research on attitudes of satisfaction seem to support the generalization that "even with the existing conditions, which are far from satisfactory, most workers like their jobs. Every survey of workers' attitudes, which has been carried out, no matter in what industry, indicates that this is so" (Brown, 1954, pp. 190-191). A careful survey of several hundred studies by Robinson and Conners (1963), which included those of Hoppock (1936), Kornhauser (1952), and Morse and Weiss (1955), revealed that, on the average, only about thirteen percent of the workers expressed dissatisfaction with their jobs. In his review of job satisfaction, Kahn (1972) reported that some two thousand surveys of 'job satisfaction' were conducted in the United States over the past several decades. These surveys have varied greatly in scope and design, from intensive studies of workers in a particular plant, occupation, or industry to more general polls covering a national cross-section of the workforce. In spite of these differences, Kahn noted a certain consistency in the response patterns. Few people call themselves extremely satisfied with their jobs, but still fewer report extreme dissatisfaction. The modal response is on the positive side of neutrality--'pretty satisfied'. The proportion dissatisfied ranged from ten to twenty-one percent. Even commercial polls, especially those of the Roper organization, asked direct questions about job satisfaction in hundreds of samples and seldom found the proportion of dissatisfied responses exceeding twenty percent (Kahn, 1972).

Today job satisfaction is coming under increasing scrutiny and workers are demanding more from their jobs. This changing workforce affects not only the worker but also the union that represents him

and the company that employs him. The new worker is introducing new aims and attitudes that differ from those of his parents. Security and pay are not uppermost, challenge and opportunity are (Marcus, 1971; Gooding, 1972). Today's worker is a strong individualist and this may be reflected in the satisfaction he receives on the job and from the union. What the worker expects from his job shapes what he expects from his union (Barbash, 1961). The worker wants economic security which means a stable level of employment and a wage compatible with his workplace status and an acceptable standard of living. He wants his job to be satisfying which means he wants some personal control over his own work, work method, and workpace. The worker wants equitable treatment in the workplace, which means protection against arbitrary management action. He wants to be consulted about changes in his work situation and he wants to be able to gripe without fear of reprisal. Finally, the worker wants to be part of a congenial work community, which means for him a pleasant place to work and good fellows to work with (Barbash, 1967; Terkel, 1974).

Many studies have found that job satisfaction varies by occupational level (Blauner, 1960). The highest percentage of satisfied workers are usually found among professional and businessmen. Satisfaction is higher among middle-class than among the manual working class occupations. Within the manual working class, job satisfaction is highest among skilled workers and lowest among unskilled laborers and assembly line workers. Thus, when a scale of relative job satisfaction based on general occupational categories is used, the resulting rank order is almost identical with the most

commonly used status classification, the Edwards scale of the Bureau of Census (Blauner, 1960; Hoppock, 1935).

A national survey of workers--the 1972-1973 Quality of Employment Survey--was conducted by the Employment Standards Administration of the U. S. Department of Labor. Their population consisted of a national probability sample of 1,496 employed persons sixteen years of age or older who worked for pay twenty hours a week or more. The survey's measure of overall job satisfaction was based on two equally weighted components. The first consisted of workers' indications of satisfaction with twenty-three different facets of their jobs--pay, hours, and the like. The second was constructed from several very general questions about job satisfaction; for example, 'All in all, how satisfied would you say you are with your job?' There were also five indicators of satisfaction with general areas of the job, based on ratings of the twenty-three job facets. These were comfort, financial rewards, resource adequacy, challenge, and relations with co-workers. In 1973, those most dissatisfied with their jobs in general were young workers under thirty years of age, blacks, those making under five thousand dollars a year from their primary jobs, operatives, and nonfarm laborers. Blue-collar workers were significantly less satisfied than white-collar ones. The relationship between education and overall satisfaction was curvilinear; the greatest difference between adjacent educational categories involved workers with only 'some' college and those who had graduated, the latter being considerably more satisfied. Those with some college education but no degree reported the same level of satisfaction as workers with only high school educations. A major difference occurred among workers with only

grade school educations. While their working conditions were quite poor, this was not reflected in conspicuously low job satisfaction scores. It may be that workers with little education have lower expectations with reference to their work and are therefore more satisfied than others with poor employment conditions (Quinn, Mangione, DeMandilovitch, 1973, p. 38).

Union Satisfaction

The majority of unionists are satisfied with their unions and "there can be no question of the basic loyalty of the rank-and-file union member to his union. Every test demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of union members support their union and are satisfied with it" (Barbash, 1961, p. 161). As mentioned earlier, union activists are generally more involved with their union than are the inactives and are more loyal to and satisfied with it (Purcell, 1953; Dean, 1954; Barbash, 1961; and Hagburg, 1966).

In an attempt to get a better indication of how the union can best serve and better satisfy their membership, this present study will look into the policies and practices of the AFL-CIO unions in Louisiana. It is anticipated that since the members are given the opportunity to indicate areas of satisfaction, dissatisfaction, and needed improvement, the results could help the union leaders to increase the general satisfaction of their members. It might also follow that increased satisfaction could lead to increased participation (Form and Dansereau, 1957; Dean, 1954; and Barbash, 1961).

Leadership

Little information is known about the leadership characteristics of union officers, although much has been written about their biographical characteristics, as mentioned earlier. But, what kind of leadership style do they practice; that is, are they employee-centered or task-oriented? Do they adher to a Theory X or a Theory Y philosophy? How do they differ from management in other organizations? Or a better question might be, do they differ at all from management in other organizations? A comparision of the union and the company as organizations and an examination of McGregor's (1960) assumptions about human nature postulated in Theory X and Theory Y follows.

Basic Differences in Union and Management Organizations

Certain basic differences between management and union organizations affect the nature of the interactions that take place between employer and employee, and between union and management. One of the most important differences is the way authority and responsibility are handled by the management and the union organization.

Industrial management is organized so that control is from the top down, with authority and responsibility delegated by the few to the many. Those at the top who have the final authority are presumably the most capable and the most skilled in the management group. Control is exerted through the formulation of policy which sets limits within which action may be taken. This policy is usually fairly general,

emphasizing long-range achievement, and aimed at the promotion of a profitable enterprise (Nash and Miner, 1973).

In union organizations, on the other hand, control is from the bottom upward, with authority and responsibility delegated by the many to the few. The many who control, the rank-and-filers, are usually less skilled and less capable than the leaders whom they elect and control. So the authority of the union membership is exerted through its elected leaders. The aims of the rank-and-file are likely to be relatively opportunistic and short-range, and very specific rather than general in nature; for example, wage increases and settlement of grievances (Nash and Miner, 1973).

The preceeding paragraphs have emphasized a popular view of the two organizations that distinguishes them by the way they concentrate power. According to this, companies are primarily autocratic, their power rests at the apex of the organizational structure. The power filters down to lower echelons by means of delegation and then various managers are granted authority to act in the pursuit of organizational goals (Stagner and Rosen, 1969).

According to this same view, the union structure is democratic; its power rests at the base of the organization, in the constituency. Union leadership leads at the consent of the led and power is delegated to the leadership from below. Theoretically such power is granted by the members in the belief that the union leaders will utilize it to aid the members in maximizing need satisfaction or minimizing need deprivation (Stagner and Rosen, 1969).

Organizational theorists have looked at autocratic and democratic organizations and have proposed various views on increasing

participation and satisfaction through different leadership styles. Among these are Argyris (1964), Likert (1961), and McGregor (1960). These are human relations approaches to leadership and their aim is to enhance the sense of personal worth of members and to increase their mutual trust and feeling of identification with the organization. For purposes of this study, concern is primarily with McGregor's (1960) Theory X and Theory Y assumptions of leadership. Briefly, Theory X is the autocratic, task-oriented approach to leadership while Theory Y is the democratic, employee-centered approach.

Theory X assumes:

1. The average human being has an inherent dislike of work and will avoid it if he can.

2. Because of this dislike, people must be coerced, directed, controlled, and threatened with punishment to get them to put forth adequate effort toward the achievement of organizational objectives.

3. The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, has relatively little ambition, and wants security above all (McGregor, 1960, pp. 33-34).

In contrast, Theory Y, based on Maslow's (1954) Need Hierarchy Theory posits:

1. The expenditure of physical and mental effort in work is as natural as play or rest. The average human being doesn't inherently dislike work.

2. External control and threat of punishment are not the only means for bringing about effort toward organizational objectives. Man will exercise both self-control and self-determination in service of objectives to which he's committed.

3. Commitment to objectives is a function of the rewards associated with their achievement.

4. The average human being learns, under proper conditions, not only to accept but to seek responsibility.

5. The capacity to exercise a relatively high degree of imagination, ingenuity, and creativity in the solution of organizational problems is widely, not narrowly, distributed in the population.

6. Under the conditions of modern industrial life, the intellectual potentialities of the average human being are only partially utilized (McGregor, 1960, pp. 47-48).

These two sets of assumptions carry different implications for managerial strategy. Theory X leads to an emphasis on the tactics of control--to procedures and techniques for telling people what to do, for determining whether they are doing it, and for administrating rewards and punishment. Since an underlying assumption is that people must be made to do what is necessary for the success of the organization, attention is focused on techniques of direction and control (McGregor, 1960). Theory Y, on the other hand, leads to a preoccupation with the nature of the relationship, with the creation of an environment which will encourage commitment to organization objectives and which will provide opportunities for the maximum exercise of initiative, ingenuity, and self-direction in achieving them (McGregor, 1960).

To the extent that one can translate Theory X and Theory Y to fit union organizations, unionism in its inception and ideology is analogus to the assumptions of Theory Y. Membership is the essential resource of the union organization and the union formally provides for participation and contributions of its constituents. Self-direction and self-control through representative democracy can be exercised in the union. There is the opportunity for satisfaction of higher order needs and the possibility to be creative and imaginative in organizational problem solving. There is also an opportunity to move upward in the union organization even though existing leadership often attempts to prolong its tenure (Rosen, 1976). Thus, it can be seen that the potential for Theory Y exists in the structure and in the function of unions.

But, is that potential utilized? In reality it seems not. For instance, the lack of membership involvement in unions seem to parallel the inherent dislike of work and responsibility premise of Theory X (McGregor, 1960). There are other parallels to Theory X. The union officials will strive for a contract package providing economic satisfaction that materalizes away from the job, stressing higher pay, more fringe benefits, shorter hours, longer vacations, and job security. In a single sentence the AFL-CIO leadership shows its aversion to work: "We shall seek reduced schedules of working hours, additional paid holidays, longer vacations, sabbatical leaves, early retirement, and similar provisions . . ." (Policy Resolution 1969, Schmidt, 1973, p. 173).

There are also indications that Theory Y ideas are implemented in the union, particularly in the handling of grievances. Each officer, beginning with the shop steward who receives grievances from his immediate constituency, brings that information to the next higher level for evaluation and action until the issue is solved. In addition, the member could be exercising the assumptions inherent in Theory Y merely by having the opportunity to participate in meetings and vote, among other activities, if he/she desires. The potential for Theory Y is there, the reality is up to the individual member. What could be important for the leaders would be to have the capacity to assess the critical needs of the membership and to determine what can be done organizationally to retain their support (Rosen, 1976).

Realizing that the choice of participation is his, might be enough to lead the union member to perceive that the union and its leaders provide him/her with a humanistic, Theory Y organization. This

is the question that Rosen (1976) asked and one that this study will attempt to answer. Rosen asked whether the potential rather than the actuality regarding participation and involvement is sufficient for a humanistic atmosphere in an organization. In terms of limited research data, he feels that this remains a moot question. In an attempt to answer his question, this research will focus on leadership as it is perceived by the members. Questions regarding the leadership style of both union leaders and company management will be asked. These questions focus on aspects of Theory X and Theory Y, as well as their corollaries of task-oriented and people-oriented styles of leadership.

It is hoped that through means of the results of the questionnaire used in this study, which assesses the union members' attitudes regarding the union, the job, and leadership in both, the union officers will be able to size up their membership better. In so doing, this questionnaire could fulfill one of the critical needs that exist for union leadership; that is, the ability to understand and to predict members' needs and reactions to union policies and practices in order to serve their constituency better.

Hypotheses

The present research was conducted in order to assess the union members' attitudes regarding union participation, union and job satisfaction, and union and job leadership. These factors were assessed by means of a questionnaire sent to a random sample of AFL-CIO union members in the state of Louisiana. A number of hypotheses regarding participation, satisfaction, and leadership were tested. These are presented below.

Participation

1. Based upon the results reported by Sayles and Strauss (1953), Miller and Young (1955), Rosen and Rosen (1955), Tannenbaum (1956), Form and Dansereau (1957), Schneider (1957), Spinard (1960), and Wertheimer and Nelson (1975), it was hypothesized that the average union member is relatively inactive with respect to organizational matters.

2. It was hypothesized that active union members will be differentiated from the inactive members on a number of demographic characteristics. The active member will more likely be male, older, married, and higher in skill and job status, in general, than the inactive member (Tannenbaum and Kahn, 1958). Actives are also expected to be from specific ethnic groups--Black and Mexican--and from specific religions--Catholic and Jewish (Purcell, 1960). The active members are also expected to belong to smaller locals than do the inactive members (Mahoney, 1952; and Strauss and Sayles, 1953).

3. In light of the right-to-work controversy currently in the forefront in the state of Louisiana, it is expected that most union members, especially the more active ones, will prefer to be represented by a union, even if they were unwilling to join the union when they were first employed where they now work. This expectation follows from the observation that participation in union affairs is affected by such union contests as contract negotiations, strikes, and fractional struggles (Purcell, 1960).

Job Satisfaction

4. It was hypothesized that active union members are more satisfied with their jobs than are the inactive members (Dean, 1954; Form and Dansereau, 1957; and Seidman et.al., 1958).

5. It was hypothesized that the majority of unionists are generally satisfied with their jobs, although a differentiation by occupational level is expected. That is, as Purcell (1960) found in his review of the literature, those union members in the higher occupational levels will be more satisfied with their jobs than those in lower levels. Professionals are expected to be the most satisfied, followed by white collar workers. These are followed by the skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled, respectively.

Union Satisfaction

6. Based upon the findings of Purcell (1953), Dean (1954), Form and Dansereau (1957), Seidman et.al. (1958), Barbash (1961), and Hagburg (1966), it was hypothesized that union members are generally satisfied with their unions. The active members are expected to be more satisfied than the inactives.

7. It was expected that the inactive, single, younger, and more educated unionists will be the most dissatisfied with unions (Rosen and Rosen, 1955).

Leadership

8. It was hypothesized that the rank-and-file members will perceive their union leaders more employee-centered (Theory Y) than task-oriented (Theory X), whereas the reverse will be true for their company management. Company management will be perceived as more

Theory X than Theory Y leaders. These hypotheses have been generated based on the previous expectations regarding job and union satisfaction and leadership (Katz and Kahn, 1952; Dean, 1954; Barbash, 1961; Hagburg, 1966; and Rosen, 1976).

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Five hundred members of the Louisiana AFL-CIO unions were selected randomly from the membership files located in the Louisiana office of the AFL-CIO. The questionnaires were mailed to the members' home address.

Subjects were asked to assist voluntarily in the study by means of a recruitment letter (see Appendix I) attached to the questionnaire sent to them. This recruitment letter explained the purpose of the study and asked for the union members' assistance in the project. The unionists' were assured of confidentiality by informing them that no one but the researcher would see the responses. Since the survey was mailed to the subjects, they had the option of completing or not completing the instrument. Therefore, the potential relevance of the study for the members was emphasized in the recruitment letter. In addition, to increase the response rate, a letter from the President of the Louisiana AFL-CIO was also included (see Appendix II). His letter indicated the unions' support of the study as well as their awareness of the potential benefits of the results of the study for the unions.

Procedure

Envelopes with the appropriate material enclosed, a recrutiment letter, a letter from the President of the AFL-CIO, and the Union Members Opinion Questionnaire (UMOQ) were mailed to the home address of each subject. A stamped self-addressed envelope to the researcher was also included. The union member was to complete the UMOQ and return it by mail to the researcher in the enclosed envelope.

Instruments

The Union Member Opinion Questionnaire (UMOQ) (see Appendix III) was developed specifically for this study. The fifty questions included in this survey were designed to assess union members attitudes regarding union participation, union and job satisfaction, and union and job leadership. The questions on satisfaction and participation were modified from surveys employed in previous union studies (Rosen and Rosen, 1955; Wertheimer and Nelson, 1975). The leadership questions were formulated by using concepts from McGregor's (1960) Theory X and Theory Y assumptions of leadership. Subjects answered the UMOQ items by filling in a response or circling one of several choices.

Basic union information was obtained by asking the members what local they belonged to (Question 1), whether this local was industrial or craft (Question 2), and how long they had been a member of the local (Question 3). Basic job information was obtained by asking what their job was (Question 21), whether it was a full or part-time job (Question 22) and how long they have had the job (Question 23).

A number of hypothesis regarding participation, satisfaction, and leadership were tested in this study. The remaining items in the questionnaire will be discussed as they relate to these hypothesis.

Participation

1. It was hypothesized that the average union member is relatively inactive with respect to organizational matters. Level of participation was assessed by questions five, seven, and eight. Each of these items was weighted in terms of their importance and relevance to participation and involvement in the union. The weights were assigned based on conversations with executives in the Louisiana AFL-CIO and previous research (Hagburg, 1966; Wertheimer and Nelson, 1975). Item five asked the members to indicate if they had read the union newspaper (1 point), attended social events (2 points), attended educational events (3 points), used the grievance procedure (4 points), taken part in a strike (5 points), been a committee member (6 points) or chairperson (7 points), been shop steward (8 points), run for union office (9 points), or been elected to a union office (10 points). The members were to check all the activities they had done. Possible scores ranged from one to fifty-five. Items seven and eight asked for frequency of union meeting attendance and voting in union elections. Possible scores for both items ranged from zero to four points. Choices of response for each question included never (0 points), less than half of the time (1 point), about half of the time (2 points), more than half of the time but not all the time (3 points), and all the time (4 points).

Each union member was assigned a participation score based on his/her activity level. The highest participation score that could be obtained was sixty-three. Union members with a score of thirty-two or more were classified as active members, those with a score of thirty-one or less were considered as inactive members. A cutoff score of thirty-one and a half was utilized to differentiate active from inactive members based on previous research (Hagburg, 1966; Wertheimer and Nelson, 1975). It is recognized that this cutoff score is but one of many that could have been selected for the purposes of differentiating active from inactive members.

2. It was hypothesized that active union members would be differentiated from the inactive members on a number of demographic characteristics. These included age, sex, marital status, nationality, religion, and number of completed years of school (Questions 45-50).

3. Preference for union representation was expected to be high, especially among active members, due to the current right-to-work controversy in Louisiana. The subjects were first asked to indicate if they had to join the union as a condition of employment when they were first hired where they now work (Question 24) and then if they were willing or unwilling to join the union when they were first employed (Question 25). They were also asked to state their agreement or disagreement (Likert-type choices) with the following statements: Probably most union members today would prefer <u>not</u> to be represented by a union (Question 31) and union and management should be free to negotiate a clause requiring all members (workers) to join a union (Question 32).

In anticipation of helping to increase the level of participation in the union, two questions were asked. The members were asked to indicate if the local makes it easy for them to participate in its activities (Question 9). If they answered no, they were asked what could the local do to make it easier for them to participate (Question 10). Choices included change the time of the meetings, change the place of the meetings, need a babysitter, need to know more about what is accomplished in the union, need more encouragement to be active, would be interested in more social events, and would be interested in more educational events. The members were asked to check as many as applied to them.

Job Satisfaction

4. It was hypothesized that active union members are more satisfied with their jobs than are the inactive members. Job satisfaction was assessed in Part IV of the questionnaire. Items included satisfaction with working conditions, pay, supervisor, and management (Questions 26-29). The members were also asked to indicate, in general, taking into consideration all the things about their work, how satisfied they were with their job (Question 30). They were to respond by circling the Likert-type response which best applied to them, ranging from very dissatisfied to very satisfied. As previously mentioned, activity level was obtained through questions five, seven, and eight.

5. The majority of unionists were hypothesized to be generally satisfied with their jobs, yet a differentiation by occupational level was expected. Occupational level is obtained in questions 21. General job satisfaction is obtained in question 30.

In an attempt to get an indication of how their job might affect their union participation, the members were asked if there were things about their jobs which affected their activity in the union (Question 11). If they answered yes, they were to check those items in question 12 which applied to them. They were asked to check as many of the following choices as applied to them. These choices included the need to work on another shift, union activity should give me a better chance of getting ahead on my job, my supervisor should not make life hard for union people, nothing about my job affects my union activity, or other.

Union Satisfaction

6. It was hypothesized that union members are generally satisfied with their unions. Union satisfaction is assessed in Part II of the questionnaire. Items included satisfaction with union meetings, collective bargaining, handling of grievances, job the steward does, job the leaders do, amount of dues paid, and the job the union does on city, state, and national politics (Questions 13-19). Overall feelings regarding union satisfaction were assessed in question 20 which asked 'in general, taking into consideration all the things about your local, how satisfied are you with the overall job your local does'. Choice of response ranged from very dissatisfied to very satisfied. As mentioned, activity level is indicated in questions five, seven, and eight.

7. It was expected that the younger, single, and more educated unionists would be the most dissatisfied with their union. These demographic characteristics are given in questions 46, 47, and 50,

respectively. Indication of general satisfaction level with the union is obtained in question 20.

Leadership

8. It was hypothesized that the members would perceive their union leaders as more employee-centered (Theory Y) than task-oriented (Theory X). Company management was hypothesized to be perceived as more Theory X than Theory Y. Indication of leadership style was obtained in questions 33-44. Each leadership style item was repeated for union officer and company management. Theory X was described in questions 37-42. These items emphasized organizing and directing work, economic success versus needs of members, and being hard-boiled and tough with employers. Theory Y was described in questions 33-36 and questions 43 and 44. These items asked if the members were well-informed about things they wanted to know, if they were given opportunities for learning and self-improvement, and whether their leaders listened to their ideas and suggestions.

Data Analysis

The analysis was conducted in four general stages, defined by the dependent variable of interest, namely, degree of participation, degree of job satisfaction, degree of union satisfaction, and leadership qualities. In each stage, corresponding to each dependent variable, several analyses of variance were performed to determine differences as a function of various demographic and attitudinal characteristics.

Stage 1

The dependent variable was participation score. An analysis of variance was conducted with the following discrete variables in the model: sex, age, marital status, race, religion, and education. In addition, separate analyses of variance were conducted to determine if the amount of participation differed as a function of each of the following independent variables: job status, size of local, and the four right-to-work items.

Stage 2

The dependent variable was job satisfaction, which was defined by five items. Two sets of analyses of variance were conducted. One analysis determined if the active members differed from the inactives for each of the five job satisfaction items. The second analysis determined if job satisfaction differed as a function of occupational level.

Stage 3

The dependent variable was union satisfaction, which was defined by eight items. One of these items assessed satisfaction with the overall job the local does. Two sets of analyses of variance were conducted. First, eight analyses of variance were conducted to determine if the actives and inactives differed on each of the eight union satisfaction items. Second, an analysis of variance with discrete and continuous variables in the model was conducted. The dependent variable was the item which assessed satisfaction with the overall job the local does. The discrete variables were activity level and marital status, while the continuous variables were age and education.

Stage 4

The dependent variable was leadership. *t*-tests were performed to assess the differences in perception by unionists of Theory X and Theory Y leadership both in their unions and on their jobs.

Chapter 3

RESULTS

Description of the Sample

Five hundred members of the Louisiana AFL-CIO unions were selected randomly from the membership files located in the Louisiana office of the AFL-CIO. The Union Member Opinion Questionnaires (UMOQ) were mailed to the members' home address. Of the 102 that were returned (20 percent), only 75 were useable (15 percent). Therefore, a second mailing to the same union members was carried out. This second mailing included another copy of the UMOQ, a new recruitment letter (see Appendix IV), the letter from the President of Louisiana's AFL-CIO, and another stamped self-addressed envelope to the researcher.

The following descriptive statistics were calculated by combining the data from the two mailings.

1. 181 questionnaires were returned (36 percent of the sample).
2. 125 questionnaires were useable (25 percent of the sample).
3. 56 questionnaires were not useable (11 percent of the sample).

Of the 56 questionnaires that were not useable:

1. 21 were returned marked "addressee unknown" or "moved and left no forwarding address";
2. 17 were returned not answered;
3. 6 were not members of the union;
4. 5 were retired and did not answer the UMOQ;

5. 3 were answered but not in complete enough form;

6. 3 members were deceased; and

7. 1 member was now out-of-state.

This sample included members from the following AFL-CIO unions. This is not a complete list because 24 respondents did not indicate the name of their local.

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
American Federation of Teachers
Barbers
Boilermakers
Bricklayers
Carpenters
Cement Masons
Communication Workers of America
Electrical Workers
Engineers
Firefighters
General Truck Drivers
Glass Bottle Blowers
Grain, Feed, and Cereal
Grain Millers
Hotel, Motel, and Restaurant Employees
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
International Master Mates and Pilots
Machinists
Office Employees
Operating Engineers
Painters
Pipeliners
Plumbers and Steamfitters
Service Employees
Steelworkers
United Paperworkers
United Steel
United Teachers
United Transportation
Upholsterers

The average size of the local was 1,223 members. Of the locals, 46.61 percent were industrial and 53.39 percent were craft. The respondents in the sample had served an average of 14.93 years with their unions and an average of 13.06 years on their present jobs.

Test of Hypotheses

A number of hypotheses regarding participation, satisfaction, and leadership were tested in this study. The results will be presented as they relate to these hypotheses.

Participation

Hypothesis 1. The average union member is relatively inactive with respect to organizational matters.

Level of participation was assessed by questions five, seven, and eight of the UMOQ. Each union member was assigned a participation score based on his/her activity level. The highest participation score that could be obtained was 63, the lowest was zero. Based on previous research (Tannenbaum & Kahn, 1958 and Wertheimer & Nelson, 1975), a cut-off score of 31.5 was utilized to differentiate active from inactive members. Union members with a score of 32 or more were classified as active members, those with a score of 31 or less were considered as inactive members.

The results from the participation index indicated that the sample of Louisiana AFL-CIO union members consisted of 26 active members and 95 inactive members. That is, 21 percent of the sample was active and 79 percent was inactive. Of the actives, 23 were male (19 percent) and three were female (2 percent). In the inactive group, there were 75 males (62 percent) and 20 females (17 percent). Thus, for this sample, Hypothesis 1 was confirmed: The average union member who completed the UMOQ is relatively inactive with respect to organizational matters.

Hypothesis 2. It was hypothesized that active members would be differentiated from the inactive members on a number of demographic characteristics. The active member was hypothesized to more likely be older, male, and married. Actives were also expected to be from specific religions--Catholic and Jewish; and from specific ethnic groups--Blacks and Mexican. The active member was expected to be higher in skill and job status, in general, than the inactive. The actives were also expected to belong to smaller unions than the inactives.

An analysis of variance was performed on the following demographic variables: sex, age, marital status, race, religion and education. This analysis is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Analysis of Variance Table for Dependent Variable Participation Score and the Independent Variables Sex, Age, Marital Status, Race, Religion and Education

Source	DF	F-value	Probability
Sex	1	0.55	0.46
Age	5	0.53	0.75
Marital Status	2	0.54	0.59
Race	3	0.42	0.74
Religion	3	0.15	0.93
Education	8	0.76	0.64

Table 1 indicates that none of the demographic variables had a significant effect on participation. These demographic variables will now be examined separately.

Table 2 presents the mean participation scores classified by sex of the union member.

Table 2

Participation Means for Sex Adjusted for Age, Status, Race, Religion and Education

Sex	N	Participation Score
Female	21	13.23
Male	95	17.28

Table 2 indicates that the males tended to be more active than the females. Although not significant, the difference between these means is in the predicted direction.

Table 3 presents the mean participation scores classified by age.

Table 3

Age Participation Means Adjusted for Sex, Status, Race, Religion and Education

Age	N	Participation Score
Under 20	1	5.35
20 - 29	14	12.03
30 - 39	29	15.18
40 - 49	33	18.00
50 - 59	23	20.41
60 and over	16	20.56

Table 3 indicates that the older members tended to be more active than the younger members. Although not significant, the difference between these means is in the hypothesized direction.

Table 4 presents the mean participation scores classified by marital status.

Table 4

Marital Status Participation Means Adjusted for Sex, Age, Race, Religion, and Education

Marital Status	N	Participation Score
Single	10	10.18
Married	98	15.84
Other	8	19.74

Table 4 indicates that the single union members are the least active, followed by the married ones and others (widow/widower and separated/divorced). Although not significant, the difference between these means is in the predicted direction. Married unionists tended to be more active than the single union members.

Table 5 presents the mean participation scores classified by race.

Table 5

Race Participation Means Adjusted for Sex, Age, Status, Religion and Education

Race	N	Participation Score
Black	16	20.30
Cajuns	15	15.25
Caucasian	78	14.85
Other	7	10.63

Table 5 indicates that Blacks are the most active racial group, followed by Cajuns, Caucasians, and others. Although not significant, the difference between these means is in the predicted direction.

Table 6 persons the mean participation scores classified by religion.

Table 6

Religion Participation Means Adjusted for Sex, Age, Status, Race, and Education

Race	N	Participation Score
Baptist	40	16.61
Catholic	48	14.01
Protestant	19	16.06
Other	9	14.35

As indicated in Table 6, the Baptists are the most active religious group, followed by the Protestants and the Catholics. Due to the random selection of subjects, there were no Jews in the sample. These means do not fall in the hypothesized direction.

Table 7 presents the mean participation scores classified by education.

Table 7

Education Participation Means Adjusted for Sex, Age, Marital Status, Race and Religion

Education	N	Participation Score
Less than 4 years	3	3.05
4, 5, 6 years	5	10.08
7, 8, 9 years	12	17.55
10, 11, 12 years	17	19.07
High-school graduate	33	19.62
Other	11	19.01
Some College	21	24.32
College Graduate	9	15.80
Graduate School	5	8.80

The results in Table 7 indicate that the most active unionists are those with some college education. These were followed by the high-school graduates and those with 10, 11, and 12 years of school. The least active are those with less than four years of education

followed by those with Graduate School education. These names are not significantly different and are not in the hypothesized direction.

Individual analyses were performed for job status and for size of local. These results are presented below.

Table 8 presents the mean participation scores for occupational status.

Table 8

Mean Participation Scores as a Function of Occupation

Occupation	N	Participation Score
Professional	24	19.46
Semi-Professional	12	24.92
White-collar	55	22.76
Semi-Skilled	26	21.39
Unskilled	2	17.00

As Table 8 indicates, except for the professionals, the higher the occupational level of the union member, the more active the member. Thus, these results are not in the hypothesized direction and they are not significant, F (4, 114) = 0.32, $p > 0.87$.

Table 9 presents the mean size of local classified by activity level of the unionists.

Table 9

Mean Size of Local Classified by Activity Level

Activity	N	Mean Local Size
Active	26	408.50
Inactive	89	1461.38

As Table 9 indicates, the active union members belong to smaller unions than do the inactive members. This difference was highly significant, F (1, 113) = 8.97, $p < 0.003$. Thus, as predicted, the active members belong to smaller unions than do the inactive members.

Hypothesis 3. In light of the right-to-work controversy currently in the forefront in the state of Louisiana, it was expected that most union members, especially the more active ones, would prefer to be represented by a union, even if they were unwilling to join the union when they were first employed where they now work.

First, the union members were asked "did you feel you had to join the union as a condition of employment when you were first hired." They were to check either Yes or No. Of the actives, 35 percent felt they had to join the union as a condition of employment, while 43 percent of the inactives felt they had to join the union as a condition of their employment. This difference was not significant, F (1,115) = 0.46, $p > 0.50$.

The second question asked regarding right-to-work was "were you willing or unwilling to join the union when you were first employed where you now work". The choice of response was "willing" or "unwilling". Ninety-six percent of the actives and 94 percent of the inactives were willing to join the union when they were first employed where they now work. Again, no significant differences were found between the active and inactive members, F (1,116) = 0.13, $p > 0.72$.

Continuing the right-to-work inquiry, the union members were asked to state their opinion toward the following question: "Probably most union members today would prefer not to be represented by a union". Their response choices ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). Table 10 summarizes the responses on this item.

Table 10 indicates general disagreement with the statement that today most union members would prefer not to be represented by a union. The difference between the responses of the active and the

Table 10

Mean Preference for "No Union Representation" as a Function of Activity Level

Activity	N	Mean "No Union Representation"
Active	26	1.96
Inactive	97	1.93

inactive union members was not significant, F (1,121) = 0.02, $p > 0.90$. The overall mean value (1.94) indicates that the majority of unionists who answered the UMOQ disagree with the statement that most union members today would probably prefer not to be represented by a union.

The final question relevant to the Right-to-Work issue was "Union and management should be free to negotiate a clause requiring all members (workers) to join a union". Again, the response choices ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). Table 11 summarizes the mean agreement regarding freedom to negotiate a union clause classified by activity level.

Table 11

Mean Agreement for "Freedom to Negotiate a Union Clause" as a Function of Activity Level

Activity	N	Mean "Freedom to Negotiate"
Active	26	4.31
Inactive	97	3.81

The overall mean (3.92) indicates that the union members agree with the statement that union and management should be free to negotiate a clause requiring all members (workers) to join a union. The actives agree more than the inactives, as Table 11 indicates. The difference between the responses of the actives and inactives approaches significance, F (1,112) = 3.28, $p < 0.07$.

In conclusion, the results of Hypothesis 3 indicate that, as predicted, the respondents agree that most unionists would prefer to be represented by a union even if they were unwilling to join the union when they were first employed where they now work.

Job Satisfaction

Hypothesis 4. It was hypothesized that active union members would be more satisfied with their jobs than are the inactive members.

In this present research, job satisfaction items included satisfaction with working conditions, pay, supervisor, and management. Overall job satisfaction was assessed by asking the unionists to indicate, in general, taking into consideration all the things about their work, how satisfied they were with their job. Likert-type responses ranging from very dissatisfied (1) to very satisfied (5) were used. The results of the specific items are presented separately below.

1. Question 26. In general, how satisfied are you with your working conditions? The results indicate satisfaction with conditions at work ($\bar{X}$ = 3.66). The mean of the actives was 3.52, the inactives

mean was 3.69. This difference was not significant, F (1,120) = 0.39, $p > 0.53$.

2. Question 27. In general, how satisfied are you with your pay? The results indicate slight satisfaction with pay ($\bar{X}$ = 3.54). The mean for the actives was 3.08, the inactives mean was 3.65. The difference was significant, F (1,121) = 3.77, $p < 0.05$, but in the opposite direction of that predicted. The actives are neutral about their pay, whereas the inactives tend to be satisfied with they pay.

3. Question 28. In general, how satisfied are you with your foreman or supervisor. An overall mean of 3.68 indicates general satisfaction with their foreman or supervisor. The mean for the actives was 3.87, the inactives mean was 3.63. This difference was not significant, F (1,118) = 0.82, $p > 0.37$.

4. Question 29. In general, how satisfied are you with the management of the company you work for? The results indicate that both the actives and inactives are neutral toward their management ($\bar{X}$ = 3.13). The mean for the actives was 2.87, the inactives mean was 3.19. This difference was not significant, F (1,118) = 1.12, $p > 0.29$.

5. Question 30. In general, taking into consideration all the things about your work, how satisfied are you with your job? The results show that the unionists, when taking into consideration all the things about their work, are generally satisfied with their jobs ($\bar{X}$ = 3.92). The mean for the actives was 3.96, the inactives mean was 3.91. This difference was not significant, F (1,121) = 0.05, $p > 0.82$.

In conclusion, the results do not support Hypothesis 4. That is, active union members were not more satisfied with their jobs than the inactive members.

Hypothesis 5. It was hypothesized that the majority of the union members are generally satisfied with their jobs, although a differentiation by occupational level was expected. That is, those union members in the higher occupational levels were expected to be more satisfied with jobs than those in lower levels.

Table 12 presents the mean job satisfaction scores classified by occupational levels.

Table 12

Mean Job Satisfaction Scores as a Function of Occupational Level

Occupational Level	N	$\bar{X}$ Job Satisfaction
Professional or Managerial	24	3.92
Semi-professional or Supervisory	12	3.17
White-collared or Skilled	55	3.95
Semi-Skilled	26	4.08
Unskilled	2	4.00

An analyses of variance performed on these data approached significance, F (4,114) = 2.15, $p < 0.079$. The overall mean of 3.89 indicates general satisfaction with the job. The specific means indicate that the semi-skilled and unskilled are the most satisfied with their jobs. These groups are followed by the white-collared and then the professionals. The least satisfied are the semi-professionals.

These results confirm the first part of Hypothesis 5, but not the second part. As predicted, most unionists were generally satisfied with their jobs. However, contrary to prediction, union members with higher occupational levels were not more satisfied than those at lower levels.

Union Satisfaction

Hypothesis 6. It was hypothesized that union members are generally satisfied with their unions. The active members were expected to be more satisfied than the inactives.

Union satisfaction items included satisfaction with union meetings, collective bargaining, handling of grievances, the job the steward does, the job the leaders do, amount of dues paid, and the job the union does on city, state and national politics (Questions 13-19). Overall opinion regarding union satisfaction was assessed by asking "in general, taking into consideration all the things about your local, how satisfied are you with the overall job your local does" (Question 20). Response choices ranged from very dissatisfied (1) to very satisfied (5). The specific differences between the actives and the inactives are discussed below.

1. Question 13. In general, how satisfied are you with your union meetings? An overall mean of 3.57 indicates slight satisfaction with their union meetings. The mean for the actives was 3.31 and the inactives mean was 3.64. Although not significantly different, F (1,120) = 2.10, $p > 0.15$, the inactives were slightly more satisfied with their union meetings than were the active members.

2. Question 14. In general, how satisfied are you with the job your union does on collective bargaining (your contracts)? An overall mean of 3.69 indicates general satisfaction with the collective bargaining done by their union. The actives mean was 3.84; the inactives mean was 3.65. This difference was not significant, F (1,120) = 0.44, $p > 0.51$.

3. Question 15. In general, how satisfied are you with the job your union does in handling members' grievances? The members were generally satisfied with the union's handling of members' grievances ($\bar{X}$ = 3.70). The actives mean was 3.72; the inactives mean was 3.69. This difference was not significant, F (1,116) = 0.02, $p > 0.89$.

4. Question 16. In general, how satisfied are you with the job your steward does? In general, the members were satisfied with the job their steward does ($\bar{X}$ = 3.74). The inactives mean was 3.79; the actives mean was 3.57. This difference was not significant, F (1,111) = 0.84, $p > 0.36$.

5. Question 17. In general, how satisfied are you with the job your officers do? Again, the unionists expressed general satisfaction with their officers ($\bar{X}$ = 3.78). The inactives mean was 3.80; the actives mean was 3.69. This difference was not significant, F (1,121) = 0.23, $p > 0.63$.

6. Question 18. In general, how satisfied are you with the amount of dues you pay? The overall mean indicated that the unionists were slightly satisfied with the amount of dues they paid ($\bar{X}$ = 3.55). The mean for the actives was 3.81; the inactives mean was 3.48. This difference was not significant, F (1,120), $p > 0.21$.

7. Question 19. In general, how satisfied are you with the job your union does on city, state, and national politics? The unionists fell between neutral and satisfied with the job their unions do on politics ($\bar{X}$ = 3.54). The inactives were satisfied with the job done on politics ($\bar{X}$ = 3.68), while the actives were only neutral ($\bar{X}$ = 3.00). This difference was highly significant, F (1,117) = 7.74, $p < 0.006$.

8. Question 20. In general, taking into consideration all the things about your union, how satisfied are you with the overall job your local does? The overall mean indicated that the unionists were satisfied with the overall job their local does ($\bar{X}$ = 3.86). The mean for the inactives was 3.91; the mean for the actives was 3.68. This difference was not significant, F (1,121) = 0.89, $p > 0.35$.

In general, as hypothesized, the unionists who responded to the UMOQ were satisfied with their union. However, contrary to prediction, the active members were not more satisfied than the inactives.

Hypothesis 7. It was expected that the inactive, single, younger and more educated unionists would be the most dissatisfied with their unions. An analysis of variance was performed to test this hypothesis. The results are presented in Table 13.

Table 13

Analysis of Variance for Dependent Variable Union Satisfaction and Independent Variables Activity, Marital Status, Age and Education

Source	DF	F-Value	Probability
Activity	1	0.85	0.36
Marital Status	2	0.17	0.84
Age	1	1.57	0.21
Education	1	0.55	0.46

Table 13 indicates that activity, marital status, age, and education were not significantly related to union satisfaction. Union satisfaction means adjusted for activity, marital status, age and education indicated that the inactives with a mean of 3.82 were slightly more satisfied with their unions than were the actives with a

mean of 3.60. Marital status means adjusted for acitivty, age and education indicated that the married unionists were more satisfied with their union ($\bar{X}$ = 3.82), than were the single union members ($\bar{X}$ = 3.72) and those classified as others (widows, widowers, separated, and divorced) with a mean of 3.60. Similarly, age and education, as covariables, were not significantly related to union satisfaction.

Leadership

Hypothesis 8. It was hypothesized that the rank-and-file members would perceive their union leaders more employee-centered (Theory Y) than task-oriented (Theory X). Furthermore, it was hypothesized that company management would be perceived as more Theory X than Theory Y leaders.

The following questions on the UMOQ assessed Theory X leadership:

1. Question 37. On your job, your supervisor or foreman constantly organizes and directs your activities.

2. Question 38. In your union, your officers or shop steward constantly organizes and directs your activities.

3. Question 39. On your job, economic success for your employer is more important than the needs of union members.

4. Question 40. In your union, economic success (build up of the treasury) is more important than the needs of the union members.

5. Question 41. Your company is usually hard-boiled and tough with its employees.

6. Question 42. Your union is usually hard-boiled and tough with its members.

The following items on the UMOQ assessed Theory Y leadership:

1. Question 33. On your job, your supervisor or foreman usually keeps you well informed about the things you want to know.

2. Question 34. In your union, your officers or shop steward usually keeps you well informed about the things you want to know.

3. Question 35. Your job offers you enough chance for self-improvement and learning.

4. Question 36. Your union offers you enough chance for self-improvement and learning.

5. Question 43. On your job, your supervisor or foreman listens to your ideas and suggestions.

6. Question 44. In your union, your officers or shop steward listens to your ideas and suggestions.

Response choices ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). To determine the perception of leadership styles, the following procedure was used.

For each union member, a total Theory X score and a total Theory Y score for union leaders was computed. For each member, the total Theory X score for union leaders was computed by adding his/her responses to questions 38, 40, and 42. Similarly, the total Theory Y score for union leaders was computed by adding his/her responses to Questions 34, 36, and 44. Then the individual's total Theory X score for union leaders was subtracted from his/her total Theory Y score for union leaders. A *t*-test was conducted with these difference scores to determine if union members perceived their union leaders to be more Theory X or Theory Y leaders. For instance, if the score was positive,

the union leaders would be perceived as more Theory X than Theory Y leaders.

This same process was used for company management. That is, for each union member, a total Theory X and a total Theory Y score for company management was computed. For each member, the total Theory X score for company management was computed by adding his/her responses to questions 37, 39, and 41. Similarly, the total Theory Y scores for company management was computed by adding his/her responses to questions 33, 35, and 43. Then the individual's total Theory X score for company management was subtracted from his/her total Theory Y score for company management. A t-test was then conducted with these difference scores to determine if union members perceived their company management as more Theory X or Theory Y leaders. For instance, if the score was negative, then company management would be perceived as more Theory Y than Theory X leaders.

As predicted, the findings show that the union members did perceive their union leaders as more employee-centered (Theory Y) than task-oriented (Theory X). This difference was highly significant, t (115) = -11.96, $p < 0.01$.

The results also indicate that the unionists perceived their company management as more employee-centered (Theory Y) than task-oriented (Theory X) leaders. This difference was also significant, t (112) = -2.25, $p < 0.05$.

A post-hoc t-test was performed to determine if there was a significant difference in the union members perceptions of their union leaders as Theory Y leaders and their company management as Theory Y leaders. This difference was highly significant, t (227) = 22.77,

$p < 0.01$. Thus, the union members perceived their union leaders as possessing significantly more Theory Y qualities than their company management.

A Closer Look at Participation

The present research also looked at ways to help increase participation in the union. Several questions were asked regarding ways the union might help increase the participation of their members and ways the company might help to encourage participation in the unions. These results are discussed below.

In anticipation of helping to increase the level of participation in the union, two questions were asked. First, the members were asked to indicate if the local makes it easy for them to participate in its activities. Eighty-nine percent of the respondents indicated that the union makes it easy for them to participate, 11 percent indicated that it did not.

If the members answered no, they were asked what could the local do to make it easier for them to participate. They were asked to check as many of the choices as applied to them. These choices and the percentage indicating 'yes' follow:

a. You need to know more about what's accomplished in the union by people like you -- 35 percent.

b. The union need not do anything more than they are doing now -- 28 percent.

c. You would like more educational events -- 27 percent.

d. Union leaders need to give more recognition to people who do union work -- 23 percent.

e. You would be interested in more social events -- 15 percent.

f. Change the time of the meetings -- 9 percent.

g. The union would have to encourage you to be more active -- 9 percent.

h. Change the place of the meetings -- 8 percent.

i. Other -- 8 percent.

j. You need to have child-care arrangements (babysitter) -- 5 percent.

In an attempt to get an indication of how their job might affect their union participation, the members were asked if there were things about their jobs which affected their activity in the union. Thirty-one percent of the respondents indicated that there were things about their job which affected their union activity.

If the members answered 'yes', they were to check those items which applied to them. These items and the percentage indicating 'yes' follow:

a. Nothing about your job affects your union activity -- 19 percent.

b. Your supervisor should not make life hard for union people -- 16 percent.

c. Other -- 11 percent.

d. You need to work on another shift -- 7 percent.

e. Your union activity should give you a better chance of getting ahead on the job -- 7 percent.

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION

This study attempted to assess the Louisiana AFL-CIO union members' opinions regarding participation, satisfaction, and leadership both in their unions and on their jobs. It was hoped that the members themselves would provide the labor union leaders, company management, and social scientists with a better understanding of their satisfaction with their union and their job, as well as their perceptions of the leadership style of their union officials and company management. An even closer examination of participation was attempted. First, the members' activity level was assessed and then ways to obtain more involvement were ascertained.

Before discussing individual hypotheses, it must be noted that the results of this study may be idisyncratic to this sample and therefore not generalizable to the entire Louisiana AFL-CIO union membership. Although 36 percent of the sample of five hundred union members returned the UMOQ, only 25 percent were useable. Therefore generalization becomes difficult, although one of the major processes of social science is extrapolation from the specific to the general, from a sample to a population to the universe. To stop short of such generalization is to be less than scientific, but to attempt generalization from insufficient data is also less than scientific and perhaps more dangerous (Tannenbaum & Kahn, 1958). In spite of these limitations, these union members got their chance to present their

ideas and beliefs as union members. It is realized that they do not give a complete answer but to the extent that they do give an answer it is important to listen.

An initial question to address is why did so few members respond to the questionnaire. It can be noted that the response rate (25 percent) parallels the level of activity of the members as assessed by the UMOQ. That is, 21 percent of those members who did respond were active members, while 79 percent were inactive members. This response rate also parallels the response rate of the majority of studies using questionnaires. Typically, the response rate for union studies employing mail-questionnaires ranges from 20 to 45 percent (Rosen & Rosen, 1955; Wertheimer & Nelson, 1975).

The first mailing took place in July, the second in September. Thus, summer vacations could have interfered with members' responses. In addition, members might have felt that neither they nor their union would benefit from the time spent in answering this or any type of mail survey. Also, the cover letter from the President of Louisiana AFL-CIO could have served as an inhibitor rather than as a positive indication of the AFL-CIO support of this study. Members could have been afraid of repercussion from leadership, although confidentiality was assured in the researcher's cover letter. Further follow-up methods, in addition to the second mailing, such as telephone calls and face-to-face interviews could have been used to increase the response rate but were not because of lack of time, money, and personnel.

A number of hypotheses were tested regarding participation, satisfaction, and leadership. These results will be discussed at this time.

Participation

One major emphasis in this study was to assess the level of participation in the union. It was hoped that the examination of participation would also help researchers, labor union officials, and management to understand satisfaction and leadership better. It was hypothesized that the average union member is relatively inactive with respect to organizational matters (Hypothesis 1). The results indicated that 79 percent of the union members who completed the UMOQ were inactive, while 21 percent were active. Thus, the hypothesis was confirmed. That is, the average union member who completed the UMOQ was inactive (as defined in this research) with respect to such organizational matters as attending meetings, social events and educational events; voting; reading the union newspaper; using the grievance procedure; taking part in a strike; running for office or being an officer, chairperson, or committee member. These results are consistent with the majority of studies of union organizations which have revealed that most members are inactive with respect to organizational matters (Form & Danereau, 1957; Spinard, 1960; Hagburg, 1966; and Wertheimer & Nelson, 1975).

Demographic characteristics were expected to differentiate these active from inactive members (Hypothesis 2). Although the results were not significant, the trend of the demographic characteristics means were generally in the hypothesized direction. That is, males tended to be more active than females, the older members tended to be more active than the younger, and the married tended to be more active than the single members. Blacks tended to be the most active racial group, followed by the Cajuns and Caucasians. Thus, the

demographic characteristics of sex, age, marital status, and race tended to be consistent with previous studies (Tannenbaum & Kahn, 1958; Rosen & Rosen, 1955).

Religion means did not fall in the hypothesized direction. That is, for this sample, the Baptists and Protestants were the most active, followed by the 'other' and then the Catholics. These results are not consistent with previous studies (Purcell, 1960). However, Purcell suggested that minority ethnic status could indicate some form of personal or social discrimination and thus minority groups become more responsive to the union's emphasis on collective efforts for improvement. If this is so, since Catholics, especially in South Louisiana, are more prominent than other groups, they would then feel less need to be as active in the union for the purpose of group support. Baptists and Protestants, who are fewer in number, are also more active, lending credence to Purcell's explanation.

The trend for education means was not in the hypothesized direction. The more active members were not those with the higher educational levels. The most active were those with some college education and then the high-school graduates. The least active were those with less than four years of education and those with graduate school education. This same trend occurred with occupational level. It was expected that the higher level of occupation, the more active the member. Although not significant, the results indicated that the most active groups were those occupations in the middle levels; that is, the semi-professionals were the most active, followed by the white-collared and semi-skilled. The lowest occupational level, the

unskilled, was the least active, followed by the highest occupational level, the professionals.

What seems to be taking place is that the extremes in both the educational and occupational levels were the least active. The author has no readily available explanation for these findings.

A significant demographic characteristic which differentiated actives from inactives was the size of the local. It was expected and the results indicated that the more active members belonged to smaller unions. This difference was highly significant. This can be explained in terms of increased opportunities for interaction and influence in smaller unions, as compared to larger unions. As the size of the union grows, apparently the atmosphere for individual participation diminishes (Mahoney, 1952). It could be suggested to union leaders that in an attempt to increase participation by members, they could keep the size of their locals small.

Recognizing that the activity level might be low and that the majority of union members would be inactive, this study attempted to fill in the gaps in previous research by asking the members what the union and their jobs could to to make it easier for them to participate. These responses could provide information to union leaders about changes that members suggest might increase their participation in union activities.

When asked if the local makes it easy for them to participate in its activities, 11 percent of the sample indicated that it did not. If they had answered that the union did not make it easy for them to participate, they were asked to check choices of as many items as applied to them. Thirty-five percent responded that they needed to

know more about what is accomplished in the union by people like them. If a person is to participate in an organization it seems natural to want to know what can be accomplished in that organization and why it would be useful to them. Thus, union leaders could increase participation by increasing information pertaining to benefits accrued in union membership.

The next highest response indicated an inconsistency in responses. That is, 28 percent responded that the union need not do anything more than they are doing. If they felt this way, it can be questioned why they did not answer 'yes' to the previous question: "does the local make it easy for you to participate in the Union". Either the members were not careful in answering the questions or, of the choices, this response was most appropriate for them.

Next, the members responded that they would like more educational events (27 percent), that union leaders needed to give more recognition to people who do union work (23 percent), that they would be interested in more social events (15 percent), and that the union would have to encourage them to be active (9 percent). These are events that the leaders could take upon themselves to initiate which would result in little organizational upheavel, yet might increase participation. These also seem to be items that satisfy the members' social and self-esteem needs; that is, recognize me, encourage me, provide me with more educational and social events, and then I might be more involved. In-house changes like change the time of the meetings (9 percent), change the place of the meeting (8 percent), and need for child-care arrangements (5 percent) did not play as important a role for the members as actual demonstrations by the leadership of

the need and benefit for the members, providing social and self-esteem reasons for participating.

It was also felt that various factors on the job might affect members' participation in the union, so they were asked to indicate if their job affected their union activity. Thirty-one percent responded 'yes'. If they answered 'yes', they were to once again check those items which applied to them. Again, an inconsistency becomes apparent. The highest percentage (19 percent) checked that nothing about their job affected their union activity. If they had read the previous question, then they could have responded 'no' to the initial question regarding whether job affected union activity. Once again, either they were careless or, of the items given as choices, this one best applied to them.

Continuing with the responses, 16 percent did indicate that their supervisor should not make life hard for union people, 7 percent needed to work on another shift, and 7 percent indicated that union activity should give them a better chance of getting ahead on the job. These responses make references to the fact that it is the treatment by supervisors and the positive input that the union has to their success on the job that would increase their level of participation in their union.

It appears that the unionists are saying that if their needs are gratified and as a result they benefit, then their participation in union activities would increase. It could be suggested that if union leaders were more aware of individual needs, membership input and participation would increase. Thus, leaders may want to be kept continuously abreast of members needs through such means as

questionnaires. Just how aware or concerned the leaders are leads to a look into the members' perceptions of leadership styles.

Leadership

Unions as organizations provide the framework and potential for a Theory Y organization; that is, an organization that is employee-centered, democratic and humanistic. The question asked by Rosen (1976) is whether or not the potential rather than the actuality regarding participation and involvement is sufficient for a humanistic organization atmosphere. In the case of unionism in the United States, the union as an organization is largely a vehicle for economic and security-need fulfillment. No matter if or how well a union provides for higher-order need gratification such as participative decision-making, if it does not fulfill its primary function of economic and security fulfillment, the union and its leadership is apt to be perceived by many as a source of frustration, not as a responsive humanistic agency.

Rosen goes on to suggest that membership reaction to a union organization and its leadership is thus more dependent upon the extent to which the desired ends of economic and security fulfillment are achieved than upon the particular leadership style employed in their achievement. Thus, if the economic and security needs of the members are met through the union organization, they could still perceive the union as responsive and humanistic--more people-oriented (Theory Y) than task-oriented (Theory X), even though the members might not be particularly active in the union and even if their self-actualizing needs are not being met.

Yet, this same perceptual process apparently does not take place in the individual's assessment of a company organization and its leadership (Rosen, 1976). The goal of a company is only tangentially related to serving its employees' best interest. Whether or not such goals are achieved has little direct impact to the employee. As a consequence, the individual is apt to show greater concern and reaction to the actual leadership style of the company management than to the union management. That is, the leadership will be perceived as employee-centered (Theory Y) or task-oriented (Theory X) based on the actual style they use in the managing process within their company.

For these reasons, it was hypothesized that union management would be perceived as more Theory Y leaders than Theory X leaders. That is, the union members would indicate that their officers usually keep them well-informed about things they want to know, union officers listen to their ideas and suggestions, and the union offers them a chance for learning and self-improvement. Likewise, company management was hypothesized to be perceived as more Theory X than Theory Y leaders. That is, the union members would perceive their company management as hard-boiled and tough with its employees, the supervisors as constantly organizing and directing their activities, and economic success for the company more important to management than the needs of the employees.

The results of this study indicated, as hypothesized, that union management was perceived as more Theory Y than Theory X leaders. This difference was highly significant. At the same time, company management was also perceived to more Theory Y than Theory X leaders. This difference was also significant.

The significance can be overstated but it is still encouraging to find that the results from this study regarding leadership indicated that the union members perceived both their company and union leadership to be democratic, humanistic, employee-centered leaders (Theory Y). This perception was expected for the union leaders for the philosophy of the union is centered around fulfilling the needs of its members; that is, the union functions for its members. But, in spite of increased societal indications that bureaucracy and automation is crowding individual expression on the job, members also perceived their company management as more Theory Y than Theory X leaders.

In theory, the union official, as an elected representative, differs from other managers in that his behavior is guided by the pleasure of his constituents. In fact, much of the union official's behavior is essentially managerial--making decisions, preparing policies and reports, etc. In performing these functions, the union leader is influenced not only by his constituents but also by many organizational constraints and by his own attitudes and opinions of how people behave and organizations ought to function, in much the same way as company management does. And, in this study, the comparison between company and union managers was shown to be even closer, for they were both perceived to be Theory Y leaders, even though the union members perceived their union leaders as possessing significantly more Theory Y qualities than their company management.

Thus, despite the fact that union officials operate in what are characterized as democratic, mutual-benefit organizations, their day-to-day role as administrators is in many ways similar in nature to the role played by managers and administrators in other types of

organizations (Rosen, 1976). In this study, both union leadership and company management were perceived to exhibit more similar styles of leadership for they were both perceived as more Theory Y than Theory X leaders. Perhaps this is one reason why this study also found general satisfaction with the union and general satisfaction with the job.

Union Satisfaction

It was hypothesized that the union members are generally satisfied with their unions. The active members were expected to be more satisfied than the inactives (Hypothesis 6). As hypothesized, the unionists who responded to the UMOQ were satisfied with their unions. However, contrary to prediction, the actives were not more satisfied than the inactives.

Several items were asked regarding satisfaction with the union. The only significant difference between actives and inactives occurred on the item pertaining to satisfaction with the job the union does on city, state, and national politics. The inactives were satisfied with the job the union does on politics, while the actives felt neutral about politics. This difference was highly significant. In addition, the inactives tended to be more satisfied, although not significantly, with their union meetings, with the job the steward does, with the job their officers do, and with the overall job the local does, than were the actives. The actives tended to be more satisfied with the job the union does on collective bargaining, with the job the union does in handling members' grievances, and with the amount of dues they pay, than the inactives. These trends are inconsistent with previous

findings in the literature regarding satisfaction (Purcell, 1953); Dean, 1954; Barbash, 1961; and Hagburg, 1966).

What seems to be occurring with this population of unionists is that the inactives are like the silent majority. Since they are generally more satisfied with the overall job the union local does, they are less active and less motivated to be involved in the union. Since the inactives are slightly more satisfied with meetings, the job their steward and their officers do, and the union in general, they consequently do not offer their input to the union, as do the actives. The actives tended to be more satisfied with the union's handling of contracts, with the grievance procedure, and with the amount of dues they pay than the inactives. This could occur because the actives are actually more involved in determining these policies because they are more involved in their union activities. The actives tended to be less satisfied with meetings, the job the steward and officers do, and the overall job the local does than the inactives. This tendency to be a little less satisfied than the inactives seems to prompt the actives into action to do something about the conditions in the union. They may be prompted into more action because they feel that their input could contribute to a union they would eventually be more satisfied with.

It was expected that the inactive, single, younger, and more educated unionists would be most dissatisfied with their union (Hypothesis 7). The findings were not significant and the trends were contrary to prediction. Inactives tended to be slightly more satisfied with the union than the actives. Age and education, treated as covariables, were not significantly related to union satisfaction.

The only predicted trend was that the single members were less satisfied with their unions than the married unionists, although again this was not significant. These findings are not consistent with previous research (Rosen & Rosen, 1955). However, they indicate that less satisfaction with union affairs tends to increase participation.

These findings could give researchers cause to reevaluate satisfaction and participation. It seems appropriate to say that if a union member is less satisfied with union activities, he or she could be prompted into involvement and consequently become a more active member. If a member is satisfied with union activities than he or she will be less motivated to become active: the silent majority does not contribute to the process. So, perhaps, as Tannenbaum (1956) indicated, if the union members have a say in the critical issues that affect them--strikes, ratification of contracts, participation in the grievance process--they feel they have enough control and participation to suit them.

Job Satisfaction

It was hypothesized that active union members would be more satisfied with their jobs than the inactive members (Hypothesis 4). The results do not support this hypothesis. The only significant difference between actives and inactives occurred with satisfaction with pay. The actives were neutral about their pay, while the inactives were satisfied with they pay. The inactive members also tended to be slightly more satisfied with working conditions and management than the actives. The actives, in turn, tended to be more satisfied with their foreman and more satisfied when taking into consideration all the things about their work.

Here again, on the items generally associated with union activity such as pay, working conditions, and management, the inactives were slightly more satisfied. This satisfaction could generate a disinterest with union activity and thus decreased participation. The actives, not as satisfied with these items, might be more motivated to participate in union activities in hopes of increasing their satisfaction with the union's eventual determination of job policies and contracts.

The actives were more satisfied with their foreman. They were also slightly more satisfied than the inactives when 'taking into consideration all the things about their job'. The trend in this overall measurement of job satisfaction is consistent with previous literature (Dean, 1954; Form & Dansereau, 1957; and Seidman et al, 1958), although the difference between actives and inactives is not significant. What could be happening is that actives are involved in their union in order to get specific needs met. The inactives needs may not be as salient if they are more satisfied with specific job items, and therefore their involvement in union activities is less.

The results of the next hypothesis regarding job satisfaction also were not consistent with previous literature. It was hypothesized that the majority of unionists are generally satisfied with their jobs, although a differentiation by occupational level was expected. That is, those union members in the higher occupational levels were expected to be more satisfied with their jobs than those in lower levels (Hypothesis 5). The results did indicate that the majority of union members are satisfied with their jobs, but differentiation by occupational level did not fall in the hypothesized direction. This study found

that the semi-skilled and the unskilled were the most satisfied with their jobs. These were followed by the white-collared or skilled and then professional or managerial. The least satisfied are the semi-professional or supervisors. These differences approached significance.

The results of the present study indicated that the traditional blue-collar workers are the most satisfied with their jobs; that is, the semi-skilled and the unskilled. One reason could be that based on previous experience and education, their work conditions are better than ever before. For one, their pay has certainly benefited due to union intercessions and thus their quality of life might have risen slightly. Based on their background experiences, their expectations regarding job fulfillment and satisfaction, the intrinsic factors, might not be as salient to them. Thus, increased wages and safer working conditions may correspond for them to increased satisfaction, for the time being.

Professionals and managers usually rank highest on job satisfaction primarily because of their status and the autonomy and self-actualization associated with their jobs. The variables that are said to contribute to job satisfaction are prestige, control over conditions of one's own work, cohesiveness of one's work group, and ego-gratification from the challenge and variety of work itself (Work In America, 1973). Yet, the present study found that this group of professionals ranked low in satisfaction. Apparently some of these conditions are missing for the professionals in this sample and they are consequently less satisfied with their jobs than the semi-skilled, unskilled and white-collared in this sample.

Work in America (1973) states that evidence exists of increasing dissatisfaction with jobs even among such traditionally privileged groups as the middle managers. The present research supported this position. One striking indication of discontent is the increasing number of middle-managers who are seeking mid-career changes. Many social scientists point to the inherent qualities of the job of middle-managers as the prime source of their dissatisfaction. Middle management lacks influence on organizational decision-making, yet they must implement company policy. This must often be done without sufficient authority or resources to carry it out. Managers without power often establish an authoritarian style that bureaucratizes an institution and frustrates changes down the line. Frustrations, in turn, often causes managers to loose their commitment to their job and the company they work for (Work in America, 1973). This could result in the low level of managerial job satisfaction that was found in this study.

The Survey of Working Conditions found much of the greatest work dissatisfaction among young, well-educated workers who were in low-paying, dull, clerical-type positions (Work in America, 1973). Signs of discontent among this white-collar group include turnover rates as high as 30 percent annually and a 46 percent increase in white-collar union membership between 1958 and 1968 (Gooding, 1971). Loyalty to employer was once high among this group of workers who felt they shared much in common with their bosses but today many white-collar workers have lost personal touch with decision-makers, and consequently, they feel estranged from the goals of the organization in which they work (Work in America, 1973). This estrangement and loss

of identity on the job could justify their low rank of satisfaction with their job found in this study.

Thus, in conclusion, the job satisfaction of union members in this sample did not fall in the hypothesized direction of the higher the occupational level, the greater the satisfaction with the job.

Right-to-Work

The final hypothesis to be discussed pertains to the Right-to-Work controversy currently in the political forefront in Louisiana. It was expected that most union members, especially the more active ones, would prefer to be represented by a union, even if they were unwilling to join the union when they were first employed where they now work (Hypothesis 3). When asked if they felt that they had to join the union as a condition of employment when they were first hired, 35 percent of the actives and 43 percent of the inactives felt that they had to join. When asked if they were willing to join the union, 96 percent of the actives and 94 percent of the inactives indicated that they were willing to join when they were first employed where they now work. Neither of these differences between active and inactives were significant.

The majority of union members disagreed with the statement that probably most union members today would prefer not to be represented by a union. Although the difference between the actives and inactives was not significant, the unionists indicated that they felt that union members today would still prefer to be represented by a union.

The final question relevant to the Right-to-Work issue asked if the union members agreed or disagreed with the statement that asked if union and management should be free to negotiate a clause requiring members (workers) to join a union. Again, the unionists agreed with this statement and the difference between the actives and the inactives appraoched significance. The actives agreed more strongly than the inactives that union and management should be free to negotiate a clause requiring workers to join a union.

These results thus indicated that the union members who responded to the UMOQ felt that union members would prefer to be represented by a union and that management and union should be free to negotiate a clause requiring workers to join a union. Thus, as expected, the union members indicated their support for the unions by their willingness to join the union, even though they felt they had to; their disagreement with the statement that union members would prefer not to be represented by a union; and their agreement with the statement that union and management should be free to negotiate a clause requiring workers to join a union. The members support for their union lends credence to the AFL-CIO leaders legislative fight to defeat the Right-to-Work laws in Louisiana. The issues involved in the Right-to-Work controversy are highly sensitive ones. Proponents of the laws feel they are defending a basic individual liberty. Opponents of the Right-to-Work legislation feel they are fighting for the very life-blood of the labor union movement (Skibbins & Weymar, 1966). It is not the intention of this study to debate this controversy but merely to present this sample of union members' opinions regarding the issue.

Conclusion

In trying to draw conclusions regarding this study, it becomes necessary to once again state that it is not appropriate to generalize these results to all union members or even to all other Louisiana union members. These results apply only to the sample of Louisiana AFL-CIO union members who responded to the UMOQ.

So, what has been learned from this sample? The results of this research indicated that although the majority (79 percent) of the union members were inactive with respect to organizational matters, they were generally satisfied with their union and their jobs. These union members also indicated that they perceived their leaders both in the union and on the job to be Theory Y, employee-centered leaders. In addition, although they felt they had to join the union as a condition of employment, 95 percent were willing to do so. They also indicated that they felt that most union members today would prefer to be represented by a union and that management and union should be free to negotiate a clause requiring all members (workers) to join a union.

This research also took a closer look at participation in an attempt to help the leaders to increase the involvement in their unions. The members felt they needed to know more about what is accomplished in the union by people like them and that more recognition should be given to people who do union work. If leaders improved the communication system within their unions in order to keep the membership better informed and to recognize those who do union work, it is likely that they would increase participation. In addition, the

members asked for more educational events and more social events. The members seem to be suggesting that if they get more information about what's going on in the union and then get a chance to socialize more outside the meetings, they then might get more involved in union affairs. These questionnaire responses and those discussed earlier may provide valuable information to union leaders about changes that their membership suggests might increase their participation.

The role of labor unions in our society is unique. Unions relate to the economic lives of the members, provide important social relationships, and offer opportunities for education and self-expression. With an increasing automated society and its potential for shorter work weeks and more flexible hours, unions could play a greater role in leisure time activities of its members (Work in America, 1973). But, the unions must keep abreast of its membership and strive to fill their needs. This assessment can be periodically done through such means as the UMOQ. In looking at participation, satisfaction, and leadership, the leaders could assess and thus obtain a better understanding of the needs and opinions of its members. This is particularly important since the activity level of its members is so low. This questionnaire/survey method could give insight into union members opinions regarding their work environment, as well as their union environment. The unions could then be a vital force in helping to structure work organizations to fit the needs and wants of the workers (Work in America, 1973). As has been indicated, if union members are satisfied with their work, they are more likely to be satisfied with the job their union is doing for them.

Unions have previously limited their concern to questions dealing with protection for all jobs in a company or industry. As Irving Bluestone of the United Auto Workers states "Just as management is beginning to ponder the new problems of discontent and frustration in the work force, so must unions join in finding new ways to meet these problems" (Work in America, 1973, p. 93). If new ways are to be accepted, the trade union movement must be among the initiators of new demands for the humanization of work. At the very least, such an initiative would improve their members' evaluation of their unions (Work in America, 1973).

It is through such methodologies as surveys that leadership could keep better informed of their memberships' needs and wants regarding both their union and their jobs. Yet, there are problems inherent in questionnaires which must not be overlooked. These include the possibility of low response rates, as well as inaccuracy in answering the survey. In spite of these difficulties, which can be minimized, questionnaires are valuable tools for information purposes. They can be supplemented by telephone surveys and face-to-face interviews to increase response rates. If time, money, and personnel had not been a problem for this researcher, this study's response rate could have been increased by employing these additional techniques.

Yet, regardless of the method used, the ultimate ends is to assess memberships' needs continuously so as to keep the union, as an organization, a viable part of the union members' activities. In so listening to the members' opinions, union leadership would be helping to increase their members' satisfaction with their union and its

leadership. With this increasing satisfaction, participation in union activities may increase.

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APPENDIX I

Cover Letter Accompanying First Mailing of Union Member Opinion Questionnaire

My name is Margaret Stevens and I am a graduate student at Louisiana State University. I am interested in the study of Labor Unions. Thus, I am doing my research with unions but I cannot complete it without your help. I would very much appreciate your cooperation. This will take only about twenty minutes of your time.

The Union Member Opinion Questionnaire gives you an opportunity to say what you think about your union. You are asked to express your opinions regarding various topics of concern to you in your union activities. You will benefit for then we will know how to make the union a better place for you.

As you can see by his cover letter, Victor Bussie is in support of this study. Yet, no officer or member of the AFL-CIO will see any of the questionnaires. In fact, once your answers are coded your questionnaire will be destroyed. I will tell them only what the members as a group think about their unions. But, if the results are to be useful, it would be best if every member who receives a survey would fill it out and return it as soon as possible. You were picked by chance from among the members of the AFL-CIO unions to receive this survey. Every member had an equal chance of being selected. Your name just happened to be among those chosen.

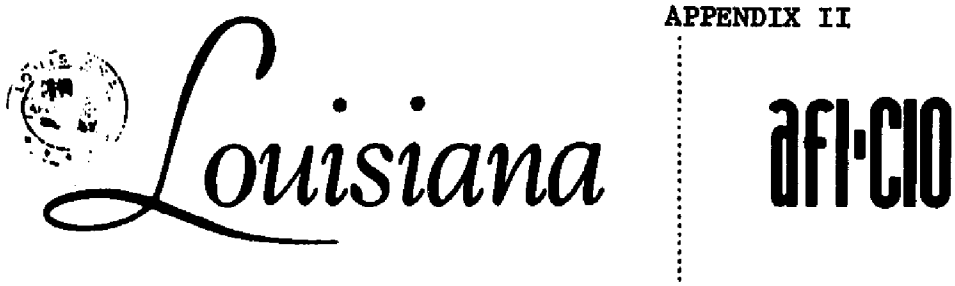
Please do not sign your name. This survey is anonymous to help insure that you answer it the way you really feel. Please do not discuss it with others for we want only your answers. If there are any questions you feel you do not want to answer, you are not required to do so.

Please return this survey as soon as possible in the enclosed envelope. Thank you very much for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Margaret Stevens
P. O. Box 17263
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70893

APPENDIX II



(504) 383-5741 / 429 GOVERNMENT STREET / POST OFFICE BOX 3477 / BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA 70821

Cover Letter from President, AFL-CIO Accompanying First and Second Mailing of Union Member Opinion Questionnaire

July 6, 1977

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

The enclosed questionnaire is part of a project being conducted by Ms. Margaret Stevens, a student at LSU. We are cooperating with her and I ask you to do the same by taking a few minutes to fill out the questionnaire. We will be furnished a copy of the analysis of the project upon its completion.

Thank you for your cooperation and help.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Victor Bussie
President

VB:aw
opeiu:#383
afl-cio

APPENDIX III

Union Member Opinion Questionnaire

The following pages contain statements regarding both your union and your job. Read each question carefully and then mark the response that best applies to you. Please do not sign your name.

I. Union Information

1. What local do you belong to? _____

2. Is this local: Industrial ____
   Craft ____

3. How long have you been a member of this local? ____ years ____ months

4. How many members are there in your local? If you do not know, estimate. _____

5. Have you ever . . . (Check all that you have done)
   a) read the union newspaper? ____
   b) attended a social event sponsored by the union? ____
   c) attended an educational program sponsored by the union? ____
   d) used the grievance procedure? ____
   e) taken part in a strike? ____
   f) been a committee member? ____
   g) been chairperson of a committee? ____
   h) been a shop steward or a shop chairperson? ____
   i) run for a union office? ____
   j) been elected to a union office? ____

6. Do you know who your union officers are? Yes ____ No ____

7. How often would you say you attended your union meetings? Check only one.
   a) never ____
   b) less than half of the time ____
   c) about half of the time ____
   d) more than half of the time but not all the time ____
   e) all of the time ____

8. How often do you vote in union elections? Check only one.
   a) never ____
   b) less than half of the time ____
   c) half of the time ____
   d) more than half of the time but not all the time ____
   e) all of the time ____

9. In your opinion, does your local make it easy for you to participate in its activities? Yes ____ No ____

10. What could your local do to make it easier for you to participate? Check as many as apply to you.
    a) change the time of the meetings ____
    b) change the place of the meetings ____
    c) you need to have child care arrangements (babysitter) ____
    d) you need to know more about what's accomplished in the union by people like you ____

e) the union would have to encourage you to be active ____
f) union leaders need to give more recognition to people who do union work ____
g) you would be interested in more social events ____
h) you would like more educational events ____
i) the union need not do anything more than they are doing now ____
j) other ____

11. Are there things about your job that affect your activity in the union? Yes ____ No ____

12. If yes, check as many as apply to you:
a) you need to work on another shift ____
b) your union activity should give you a better chance of getting ahead on the job ____
c) your supervisor should not make life hard for union people ____
d) nothing about your job affects your union activity ____
e) other ____

II. Circle your degree of satisfaction with each of the following statements about your union: Circle only one for each statement.

	very dissatisfied	dissatisfied	neutral	satisfied	very satisfied
13. In general, how satisfied are you with your union meetings?	vd	d	n	s	vs
14. In general, how satisfied are you with the job your union does on collective bargaining (your contracts)?	vd	d	n	s	vs
15. In general, how satisfied are you with the job your union does in handling members' grievances?	vd	d	n	s	vs
16. In general, how satisfied are you with the job your steward does?	vd	d	n	s	vs
17. In general, how satisfied are you with the job your officers do?	vd	d	n	s	vs
18. In general, how satisfied are you with the amount of dues you pay?	vd	d	n	s	vs
19. In general, how satisfied are you with the job your union does on city, state and national politics?	vd	d	n	s	vs
20. In general, taking into consideration all the things about your union, how satisfied are you with the overall job your local does?	vd	d	n	s	vs

III. Work Information

21. What is your job? Professional or managerial ____
Semiprofessional or supervisory ____
White-collar or skilled (craftsmen, foremen sales) ____
Semiskilled (operatives, kindred, household) ____
Unskilled (Laborers, farm workers) ____

22. Is this job: full-time ____
part-time ____

23. How long have you had this job? ____years ____months

24. Did you feel you had to join the union as a condition of employment when you were first hired? Yes ____ No ____

25. Were you willing or unwilling to join the union when you were first employed where you now work? Willing ____ Unwilling ____

IV. Circle your degree of satisfaction with each of the following statements about your work: Circle only one for each statement.

	very dissatisfied	dissatisfied	neutral	satisfied	very satisfied
26. In general, how satisfied are you with your working conditions?	vd	d	n	s	vs
27. In general, how satisfied are you with your pay?	vd	d	n	s	vs
28. In general, how satisfied are you with your foreman or your supervisor?	vd	d	n	s	vs
29. In general, how satisfied are you with the management of the company you work for?	vd	d	n	s	vs
30. In general, taking into consideration all the things about your work, how satisfied are you with the job?	vd	d	n	s	vs

V. Circle your agreement with the following statements: Circle only one for each statement.

	strongly disagree	disagree	undecided	agree	strongly agree
31. Probably most union members today would prefer not to be represented by a union.	sd	d	u	a	sa
32. Union and management should be free to negotiate a clause requiring all members (workers) to join a union.	sd	d	u	a	sa
33. On your job, your supervisor or foreman usually keeps you well informed about the things you want to know.	sd	d	u	a	sa
34. In your union, your officers or shop steward, usually keeps you well informed about the things you want to know.	sd	d	u	a	sa
35. Your job offers you enough chance for learning and self-improvement.	sd	d	u	a	sa
36. Your union offers you enough chance for self-improvement and learning.	sd	d	u	a	sa
37. On your job, your supervisor or foreman, constantly organizes and directs your work.	sd	d	u	a	sa
38. In your union, your officers or shop steward, constantly organizes and directs your activities.	sd	d	u	a	sa
39. On your job, economic success for your employer is more important than the needs of the workers.	sd	d	u	a	sa
40. In your union, economic success (build up of the treasury) is more important than the needs of the union members.	sd	d	u	a	sa
41. Your company is usually hard-boiled and tough with its employees.	sd	d	u	a	sa
42. Your union is usually hard-boiled and tough with its members.	sd	d	u	a	sa
43. On your job, your supervisor or foreman, listens to your ideas and suggestions.	sd	d	u	a	sa
44. In your union, your officers or shop steward, listens to your ideas and suggestions.	sd	d	u	a	sa

VI. General Information: Check the response that applies to you.

45. Sex: Male ____ Female ____

46. Age:
- Under 20 ____
- 20 - 29 ____
- 30 - 39 ____
- 40 - 49 ____
- 50 - 59 ____
- 60 and Over ____

47. Marital Status:
- Single ____
- Married ____
- Separated or Divorced ____
- Widow or Widower ____

48. Nationality or racial origin:
- Black ____
- Caucasian ____
- French Cajun or Acadian ____
- Spanish American ____
- Other ____

49. Religion:
- Baptist ____
- Catholic ____
- Episcopalian ____
- Jewish ____
- Protestant ____
- Other ____
- Non-affiliated ____

50. How many years of school did you finish?
- less than four (4) years ____
- 4, 5, or 6 years ____
- 7, 8, or 9 years ____
- 10, 11, or 12 years ____
- high school graduate ____
- some college ____
- college graduate ____
- graduate school ____
- other ____

APPENDIX IV

Cover Letter Accompanying Second Mailing of
Union Member Opinion Questionnaire

P. O. Box 17263
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70893
August 22, 1977

Dear Labor Union Member:

A few weeks ago you received this Labor Union Member Opinion Questionnaire from me but you may not have had time to complete it. If you did complete it at that time, thank you and please disregard this second request.

This questionnaire is part of a research project I am doing as a graduate student at L. S. U. I am very interested in the study of labor unions and thus I decided to go right to the members to get your thoughts and opinions about your union. So, without your cooperation, this study cannot be completed.

This project is very important to me and consequently I have spent alot of my time and money on it. If you could take about twenty minutes to read and fill in the questionnaire, the study could become as important to you as it is to me. The survey gives you the opportunity to improve your union by telling me how you feel about it and how you might like to change it. You were picked by chance from among all the members of the Louisiana AFL-CIO to receive this survey. Every member had an equal chance of being selected; your name just happened to be among those selected.

This questionnaire is completely anonymous, so please do not sign your name. As you can see by his cover letter, Victor Bussie is in support of this project. Yet, no officer or other member of the AFL-CIO will see any of the questionnaires. In fact, once the questionnaires are coded, they will be destroyed. I will tell the officers only what the members as a group think about their unions.

Please return this survey to me as soon as possible in the enclosed stamped envelope. Since I need your assistance to finish this project, I will greatly appreciate your cooperation. Thank you for helping me.

Sincerely,

Margaret Stevens

VITA

Margaret Mary Stevens was born at Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana on January 23, 1950. She was graduated from Saint Vincent's Academy in Shreveport, Louisiana in 1968. In the Fall of 1968 she entered Louisiana State University and received the Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology in the Spring of 1972. In September 1972, she enrolled in the Graduate School at Louisiana State University in the Department of Psychology and received her Master of Arts degree in the Fall of 1974. She is a candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree at the Spring Commencement, 1978.

EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Margaret Mary Stevens

Major Field: Psychology

Title of Thesis: Louisiana AFL-CIO Union Members' Opinions Regarding Participation, Satisfaction and Leadership

Approved:

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Date of Examination:

March 29, 1978